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A  
VINDICATION  
OF THE  
APPENDIX TO THE POEMS,  
CALLED ROWLEY'S,  
IN REPLY TO  
THE ANSWERS  
OF  
THE DEAN OF EXETER,  
JACOB BRYANT, ESQUIRE,  
AND  
A THIRD ANONYMOUS WRITER,  
WITH SOME FURTHER  
OBSERVATIONS UPON THOSE POEMS,  
AND AN  
EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE  
WHICH HAS BEEN PRODUCED IN  
SUPPORT OF THEIR AUTHENTICITY;  
BY THOMAS TYRWHITT.

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MDCCLXXXII.

# APPENDIX TO THE FORMS

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NEQUE EGO SUM OFFENSUS DISPUTATIONE  
 VESTRA, NEC VOS OFFENDI DECEBIT, SI QUID  
 FORTE AURES VESTRAS PERSTRINGET, CUM  
 SCIATIS HANC ESSE EJUSMODI SERMONUM LE-  
 GEM, JUDICIUM ANIMI CITRA DAMNUM AFEC-  
 TUS PROFERRE.

TACIT. DIALOG. DE ORATORIO.

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either to vindicate the observations in that Appendix, or to retract the conclusion, to which

## VINDICATION, &c.

**T**HE direct and pointed manner, in which my APPENDIX to the POEMS, called ROWLEY'S, has been attacked by the DEAN of EXETER, Mr. BRYANT, and a third ANONYMOUS writer, whom his publisher styles "*very learned and ingenious*;" (1) makes it absolutely necessary for me,

(1) In a piece, entitled, "*Remarks on the Appendix of the Editor of Rowley's Poems.*" It is annexed to a pamphlet, printed for C. BATHURST, entitled, "*Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove that they were really written by him, and other ancient authors*," by a Gentleman, who, it seems, died before his papers went to the press. Of this last Gentleman I shall say very little; not merely out of tenderness to a posthumous work, or from deference to the old adage, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*; but because to a competent share of general literature he appears to have joined much candour and good manners. It is no new thing, that men of candour and probity, and even of parts and learning, should support a literary imposture. If CHATTERTON had lived long enough, he might possibly, some time or other, have expressed himself in words not very different from the following of PSALMANAZAR. "And when I came to the university, I found many learned and worthy friends,

either to vindicate the observations in that APPENDIX, or to retract the conclusion, to which they professedly lead, viz. *that the Poems were not written by any ancient author, but entirely by THOMAS CHATTERTON.* As I do not feel myself in the least disposed to embrace the latter part of this alternative, I am obliged, however reluctantly, to enter into a minute examination of the facts and arguments by which these three learned persons have attempted to contradict, and invalidate, my observations upon the LANGUAGE of the Poems attributed to ROWLEY: If I should be able, as I trust I shall be, to shew that those observations remain unshaken and uncontradicted in any material point, I might perhaps safely leave the conclusion drawn from them to the judgement of the candid and intelligent reader; but, in the present state of this controversy, as the advocates for ROWLEY have at length released their opponents from the disadvantageous necessity of proving a negative; as they have condescended to produce

“ as warmly engaged for, as others were against me; and  
 “ with this seeming advantage on my side, at which I have  
 “ had frequent occasion to blush, that the former were  
 “ men of the best character for candour and probity as well  
 “ as learning and parts, and whom, for that reason, I for-  
 “ bear, as I ought, to name; their partiality for me being  
 “ the mere effect of too extensive a charity and genero-  
 “ sity, and which only exposed them to the sarcasms and  
 “ ridicule of my opponents.” *Memoirs of Psalm. by him-  
 self, p. 221.*

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the evidence, external and internal, by which the claim of this NEW POET is supported; as more evidence on that side, or abler advocates, can scarcely be expected; I hope I shall be excused, if, after having dispatched the immediate object of this publication, I take the opportunity of going a little more at large into the consideration of the whole question.

I. But, before I attempt a particular defence of my APPENDIX, it is necessary for me to take some notice of the endeavours, which have been used, to evade the force of all arguments which can be drawn from LANGUAGE in this case. For this purpose three different suppositions have been principally adopted. 1. That the Poems are written in a provincial dialect, and therefore are not reducible to the rules of the standard-language. 2. That there was no standard-language in the XV century, by which they can be tried. 3. That they may have been altered, and corrupted, in their passage to us, so that the anomalies now found in them may have been owing to the transcribers, and not to the author.

With respect to the FIRST of these suppositions, I had said [App. p. 312. n.], "that nobody would contend, that the poems attributed to Rowley are written in any provincial dialect." I now perceive that this was said inconsiderately: for the very learned Mr. BRYANT begins those "OB-



"SERVATIONS, IN WHICH" (if we may believe his title-page,) THE AUTHENTICITY OF THESE POEMS IS ASCERTAINED," with the following words. "One of the first positions, which I must lay down, is, that these Poems were written in a PROVINCIAL DIALECT: according to the idiom of the people, in whose country the author resided, and was probably born." In another place [p. 10,] he tells us, (upon what authority, I shall not now enquire,) that "ROWLEY was of SOMERSETSHIRE." One might therefore have expected, that Mr. BRYANT would have proceeded immediately to establish this his first, and very material, position, by defining accurately what he calls a *provincial dialect*; by stating authentically the principal peculiarities of the Somersetshire dialect; and by shewing, from the poems, that the author adhered to those peculiarities in preference to the more polished language of the time. I am sorry to say, that, after a very attentive perusal of Mr. BRYANT's book, I am still unable to guess what he means by a *provincial dialect* (2); I cannot see, that he has any where

(2) Mr. Bryant gives us first two extracts from Caxton; in which, he says, "we have a clear account of the dialects of those times; and of the variety of terms, that prevailed in the days of Caxton, which were precisely the days of Rowley." But all that I can collect from those extracts is, that there were dialects in those times, as there are now; and that *as brode and rude Englishe* was spoken in the *wald of Kent* (where Caxton was born) *as in any place*

of

stated the peculiarities of the Somersetshire dialect of England. What the *defaute* was, which the Lady Margaret found in Caxton's *Englishe*, is not specified. Her Ladyship might perhaps be as nice a *purist*, as the Attic herb-woman, who detected Theophrastus for a stranger; but no modern critic, I believe, will pretend to lay down the peculiarities of the Kentish dialect from the writings of Caxton.

With respect to the uncommon words, which may be found in the *Visions of Pierce Plowman*, if Mr. Bryant had thought proper to point any of them out, I apprehend they might in general be proved to be rather *antiquated* than *provincial*; as those undoubtedly are which he has pointed out in Shakspeare; for to what province of England were the words *stithy*, *mold-warp*, and *wierd*, ever peculiar?

Spenser's provincialities are evidently affected, and not deducible from any natural dialect. *The translation of the Æneis by Gawin Douglas* is indeed, as Mr. Bryant says, *entirely provincial*; but can he be serious, when he adds, "that much of the same language is to be found in the poems attributed to Rowley, and therefore that no book can be applied to preferable to this, in order to authenticate those poems, either in respect to orthography or style?" If this were so, one might be led to conclude, either that the dialects of Scotland and Somersetshire were very similar, or that Rowley *resided and was probably born* in the former, rather than in the latter, district; but, without coming to any conclusion at present, I would wish the reader to compare part of a stanza, which Mr. Bryant, in his 434th page, has quoted from Gawin Douglas, with an equal number of lines in Rowley, and judge himself, how the two writers agree in orthography and style.

But it is time to state my own idea of a *provincial dialect*; which is, in short, that it consists not so much in the use of peculiar words, as in the peculiar pronunciation of common words. The following example from Verstegan, p. 213, will explain my meaning. "Instead of pronouncing, according as one would say at London, *I would eat more cheese if I had it*, the Northern man saith, *ay sud eat mare cheese gin ay hadet*, and the Western

left from any written, or even oral, authority (3); nor do I find, that a single phrase, or word, in the Poems has been proved by him, or the other learned writers on the same side, to have been more peculiar to Somersetshire than to Yorkshire.

The SECOND seems to be the favourite supposition of the DEAN of EXETER. He contends boldly [p. 513], "*that the criterion of antiquity laid down in the APPENDIX cannot be admitted, with regard either to the use, signification, or inflection of words.*" The criterion laid down in

man saith, *chun eat more chete an chad it.*" Agreeably to these specimens, it will be found, I believe, that the same *nouns* and *verbs* are in use in most dialects, and that their principal differences arise from a corrupt pronunciation and commixture of *personal pronouns*, *auxiliary verbs*, and such *prepositions*, *conjunctions*, and *adverbs*, as occur most frequently. At least it must be allowed, that many instances of such mispronunciations, and irregular combinations of the last mentioned parts of speech, would probably appear in every page of an author, who wrote in a provincial dialect; whereas all the instances, which Mr. Bryant has produced in proof of the provinciality of Rowley, are *single words*, which he is pleased to call *provincial*; though many of them are common words, used by Chaucer and other writers, either with or without a small variation in orthography; and many of them, for aught that has appeared, were never used by any body but the writer of these Poems.

(3) I should except the quotation in p. 10, from Alexander Gill, where we are told that the Western dialect, especially in Somersetshire, was the most barbarous of any. Of the two instances there given of words peculiar to Somersetshire, viz. *lax* for *part*, and *loit* for *feat*, it is observable that neither occurs in the Poems.

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the APPENDIX is *the practice of other writers of the same age*; a criterion, which, I believe, was never before rejected in trying the language of any author (4). If it is now to be rejected, it must be upon the supposition, that no writers of authority are to be found in the age of the pretended ROWLEY, with whom he can be compared. But this, one should think, would hardly be maintained by any one who recollected, that a century of years, reckoned backwards from 1474, will include the most considerable compositions of CHAUCER and GOWER, and the whole works of OCCLEVE and LYDGATE; four authors, from whom, I will venture to say, the standard-language of England in their time may be as perfectly ascertained, as it can be by any equal number of poets for any subsequent period of the same duration (5).

(4) I must observe, that the Dean himself seems to have made use of this criterion, or one very like it, in p. 463, where he pronounces *the language* of two songs to be *too modern for the thirteenth century*. I should be glad to know by what criterion he formed this judgement, if not by *the practice of other writers of that age*; and to what he chiefly attended in examining their language, if not *to the use, signification, and inflection of words*. If by these means the Dean was enabled to discover, that *the language* of the songs was *too modern for the thirteenth century*, why may not the same means enable others to prove, that *the language* of the Poems attributed to Rowley is *too modern for the fifteenth century*?

(5) The Dean of Exeter has objected [p. 465], “that, instead of adhering to the standard which I had myself established,

The THIRD supposition has been occasionally adopted by every defender of ROWLEY, in order blished, and trying the language of Rowley by that of his contemporaries, I have usually appealed to Chaucer, a writer of the preceding century, to whom I refer as almost the sole touchstone of truth and antiquity." But if the reader will be pleased to run over those pages of the Appendix, to which the Dean has referred him, he will see that Chaucer is principally cited to shew an established use of certain words in a sense different from that in the Poems. If I had cited a (strictly) contemporary author, it might have been said, that any such author might as well have been mistaken in the use of a word, as the author of the Poems. It was necessary therefore to appeal to some older writer of established credit; and, exclusive of every other consideration, the facility with which the words might be found in Chaucer by the help of the Glossaries, naturally led me to apply to him. If I was well apprised, as the Dean supposes, "that the writers of that period are not so much distinguished by the words they make use of, as by their manner of putting them together," I must have been quite indifferent to which of them I should appeal, as I had no business but with their *single words*; their *manner of putting them together* I did not meddle with in the Appendix.

With respect to the three writers, whom I have here joined with Chaucer, as standards of the English language in their time, it will not be disputed, I believe, that from their learning and abilities, from the quantity of their writings, and the correctness to which they may be brought by MS. still existing, they are amply entitled to that pre-eminence. I do not mean however that a proper allowance should not be made for the variation of the language between the beginning of this period and the time of the supposed Rowley, or that even later writers should not be called in (if any can be found) to justify, or excuse, the numerous departures from the standard language, which occur in the Poems. The more writers of that or the following age are examined, the more clearly will the forgery appear.

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to get rid of some particular difficulties in the present text; but it is embraced in the greatest latitude by Mr. BRYANT [p. 434], where he says, that "*ROWLEY may have been altered in the same manner with BLIND HARRY;*" i. e. modernized. But how is this supposition in any degree reconcileable to the story, which we are required to believe, concerning these Poems? If the judicious and munificent CANYNGE deposited any poems of his friend ROWLEY in Redcliffe Church, we may be sure, that they were either originals in ROWLEY's own handwriting, or at least fair and correct copies made under his inspection. These Mss. whatever they were, we are told, came into the hands of CHATTERTON, and from them he made the copies, which we now have. According to this story, I do not see the least ground for supposing that the Poems have been *much* altered. Compositions really ancient could not have wanted any alteration to give them the colour of antiquity; and that CHATTERTON had no inclination to modernize them is evident, from the multitude of uncommon words with which they abound, and which it would have been much more easy for him to alter than to explain. The utmost therefore which can be inferred from this third supposition (consistently with the original supposition, that CHATTERTON transcribed the Poems from ancient Mss.) is merely, that he may have



have been guilty of such involuntary literal errors, as are usually to be found in almost all transcripts.

II. Having thus shewn, that no sufficient reason has been alledged for exempting the Poems attributed to ROWLEY from that sort of trial to which I had brought them, I proceed to examine the several answers which have been given to those Observations upon their Language, by which I had attempted to prove that they were not written in the XV century. I shall be longer, I fear, than the reader would wish; certainly much longer than I should wish myself. But the defence in all cases must be regulated by the attack.

The DEAN of EXETER and the ANONYMOUS REMARKER have subjoined their Answers to each of my objections, in the order in which those Objections stand in the APPENDIX. Mr. BRYANT has done me the honour to take some notice of many of my Objections, not in any regular order, but as they seem to have come across him in the prosecution of his own plan. Whatever falls from him is too valuable to be overlooked; and therefore I shall take some pains to collect, from the different parts of his book, the Observations relative to the APPENDIX; and I shall arrange them with those of the other two gentlemen, that they may all appear together in one view,

Under

Under my FIRST HEAD of words not used by any other author, I had recommended to the reader's consideration twenty instances, taken from the first letter only of the alphabet.

I. ABESSIE, E. III. 82.

Whylest the congeon flowrette *abessie* dyghte.

That there exists such an English verb as *abesse*, or *abase*, from the French *abaisser*, I never had any doubt. The question is about *abessie*. What part of speech is it? ANONYMUS seems to consider it as an *adverb*; for he says, *Abessie dyghte* is *humblly* dressed. The DEAN says, that "*Abessie* is here put adverbially, and joined with a participle; so Spenser has the expression of *warlike-dight*, B. v. c. 4. st. 21." According to this, *Abessie* should be an *adjective*. But just before he has observed, that "*Abessie dyghte* corresponds exactly with the Scripture phrase, to be *cloathed with humility*, 1 Peter, v. 5." I think it extremely probable that the author (whoever he was) had this Scripture phrase in his mind, and used *Abessie*, as a *noun*, for *Humility*; for I see that CHATTERTON, whom, notwithstanding his blunders and ignorance, I must still consider as the best expositor of these Poems, has so interpreted it. But the point which remains to be proved is, that *Abessie* has been used as a *noun*, or *adjective*, or *adverb*, by any other author.

I can-

I cannot find that Mr. BRYANT has taken any notice of this word.

2. ABORNE. T. 45.

Snett oppe hys long strunge bowe and sheelde  
*aborne.*

ANONYMUS says, that this word " might be easily explained and vindicated, were it needful ;" but he declines the task, for reasons which may be seen in his pamphlet, p. 8.

Mr. BRYANT thinks, that " his shield *aborne*, may possibly mean nothing more than his *awburn* shield. *Awburne*, from *awbaur*, French: brown of a tan colour, Johnson's Dict." If *Auburn* came from the French n. *Aubour*, I know not why it should signify *brown* of any shade. *Aubour*, or *Aubier*, is explained by COTGRAVE to mean *the pith, sap, or whitest and softest part of timber*; and its obvious etymology, from the Latin *Alburnum*, proves the truth of his explanation. I do not however mean to argue, that *auburn* does not at this day signify a *brown colour*, but only that the derivation of it from *aubour* has been hastily and erroneously adopted. Nor shall I discuss upon what authority, or with what propriety, the epithet *auburn* could be applied to a *shield*; as Mr. BRYANT himself (dissatisfied, I presume, with every explanation of the present text) has had recourse to a conjecture, " that the line was not truly copied ; and that instead of—

hys



hys long strunge bowe and sheeld *aborne*,  
we should read—

hys long strunge bow, and sheeld, AND *borne*.”  
The word *Borne* has been before explained by  
Mr. BRYANT [p. 129] to signify a kind of gorget,  
or breast-plate. In this place [p. 279] he says,  
“it was a sort of corslet.” He has proved, with  
his usual learning, that *Byrna*, *Brynna*, *Brunia*,  
*Brunie*, *Birnye*, in various languages, have been  
equivalent to the Latin *Lorica*; but, I confess,  
I should have thought his conjecture better sup-  
ported, if he had produced a single instance of  
*Borne* having been used in that sense in ENGLISH.

But the strongest reason against any con-  
jectural alteration is, that the received reading *Aborne*,  
supposing it to be capable of signifying *Burnished*,  
as CHATTERTON has explained it, is better suited  
to the context than any other word. The DEAN  
of EXETER says, that “*Burne*, *Burned*, *Bourne*,  
and *Ybourned*, are frequently used by our ancient  
poets in the sense here affixed to them.” His  
instances however are only of *Burned*, and  
*Ybourned*; not one of *Burne*, or *Bourne*. Till he  
produces one of *Aborne*, I shall consider my ob-  
jection as in full force.

The DEAN's observation, with respect to what  
he calls “the A. S. prefix, which (he says) ROW-  
LEY and all our ancient poets insert or omit at their  
pleasure,” will be more properly considered when  
I come

I come to the vindication of that part of the APPENDIX [p. 531, n. \*] in which I had remarked, "that it was usual with CHATTERTON to prefix *a* to words of all sorts, without any regard to custom or propriety."

3. ABREDYNGE. Æ. 334.

Agylted Ælla, thie *abredynge* blynge.

I am convinced by the passage, which the DEAN of EXETER has quoted from GOWER, that *Abreide* was used in the sense of *Upbraid*; and consequently, that my objection to *Abredynge* being used in the sense of *Upbraiding* was ill-founded.

4. ACROOLE. El. 6.

Didde speke *acroole*, wyth languishment of eyne. That *To crool* and *To crookle* might have been properly said of *Doves*, I never meant to dispute. The question is, whether the word *Acroole* was ever applied adverbially to the human speech. The DEAN indeed says, that it "expresses strongly the meaning affixed to it by SKINNER, *To speak in a murmuring voice*;" which might lead one to imagine, that SKINNER had actually explained the word *Acroole* in that manner; whereas he only says, "*Crool*, exp. *murmurare*, *obmurmurare*, *credo idem quod Grol.*"

The DEAN's other authorities are taken from Bp. DOUGLAS and his Glossarist. 1. *To crowde*, for the noise made by *doves*. 2. *To crowpe*, for that

that made by *cranes*; (he might have added, *swans* and *ravens*.) 3. To *crane*, or *croyne*, signifying To *low*. Whether all these, taken together, are sufficient to make us believe, that *Acroole* was ever before used to express the manner of speaking of a distressed damsel, must be left to the reader's judgement.

Mr. BRYANT, I think, has passed over this word; and ANONYMUS only refers us to the expositions of *Crool*, by BAILEY; with an imperfect quotation from MINSHEW, which, if complete, would probably shew, that the word *crool*, or something like it, was applicable to *doves*. His observation, from LYE, concerning the initial augment *a*, will be considered elsewhere, with the DEAN of EXETER'S A. S. *prefix*. See before, p. 13.

5. ADAVE. H. 2. 402.

The fyneft dame the sun or moone *adave*.

This word is "for the present given up" by ANONYMUS. Mr. BRYANT has said nothing for it. But the DEAN tells us, that it is the past tense of *Adawe*; and signifies, *Arose* or *shone upon*. It will be time enough to consider the signification of this word, when the use of it is established. He owns, that it is an "irregular" past tense; but says, that "it may be justified by many *similar* instances in our ancient writers, who form

*gaff*



*gaff* from *give*, *droff* from *drive*, *groff* from *grafen*, *thobte* from *thincken*, with various other irregular past tenses mentioned in Manning's Saxon Grammar." The only *similarity*, which I can discern in these instances, is, that they are irregular; and, in that light, they would have served as well to justify the use of *Adoff*, or *Adobte*, for the past tense of *Adawe*. In order to form any argument from *similarity*, the DEAN should have stated one instance at least of a verb in *awe*; terminating its past tense in *awe*.

6. ADENTE. Æ. 396. ADENTED. G. 32.

On to thie veste the rodde sonne ys *adente*.

*Adented* prowels to the gite of wit.

For a complete justification of this word, ANONYMUS has cited his usual authority, NATHANIEL BAILEY, PHILOLOGUS. "To *adent*, to fasten. O. word. Bail." Upon which it may be proper to observe, once for all, that such citations really prove nothing more than that the word has been repeated by BAILEY out of some *older* dictionary. They will never prove (to those, who have been at all conversant with our old dictionaries) that the word is really ancient; and much less, that it is truly explained. The DEAN of EXETER indeed has produced a French word *Adenter*, which is explained by COTGRAVE to signify, *To mortaise, to fasten or join by mortaise; to enchase one thing within*

within another. But this should rather convince us that COTGRAVE, at least, knew of no such English word as *Adente*. If he had known of it, he would probably have used it to explain the French, as, a little below, he explains *Adherer*, To adhere; *Adjuger*, To adjudge; *Adjurer*, To adjure, &c. Nor has he inserted *Adente* in the English part of his Dictionary; so that I am persuaded he had never heard of such an English word. SKINNER, many years after COTGRAVE, has inserted *Adent*, in his class of old and obsolete words, upon the single authority of one, whom he quotes by the title of *Author Dict. Angl.* (6);

(6) From a comparison of several articles I am persuaded, that this *Author Dict. Angl.* whom SKINNER has quoted so frequently, was no other than Mr. EDWARD PHILLIPS, whose *General English Dictionary*, entitled, *The New World of Words*, was first published soon after the Restoration. This article in PHILLIPS stands thus: "To *adent* (old word), to fasten or join." To which SKINNER refers thus: "*adent*, Authori Dict. Angl. *apud quem solum occurrit*, exp. *Configere, conjungere, &c.*" What opinion SKINNER had of the authenticity of some of PHILLIPS'S words, will appear from what he has said on the first article of this class: "*Abarstick*, vox quæ mihi in solo Dict. Angl. occurrit, inter veteres Anglicas voces recensita, ulioqui nunquam vel lecta vel audita; exponitur autem *insatiabilis*, nescio an ab &c. Sed ita me Deus amet, vereor ne infanti nondum nato calceos parem." The article in PHILLIPS is "*Abarstick* (old word), insatiable."

While I am upon this subject, it may be not impertinent to observe, that where SKINNER adds simply *exp.* to any word, he refers to the *exposition* of that word in *Spegh's Glossary to Chaucer*. See his second article: "*abatur*, exp. *Perterritus, metu consternatus &c.*" The article in *SPEGH*.

and upon the same authority expounds it *configere*, *conjungere*, i. e. To fasten, To join together. It therefore, it should not seem probable, that this *Author Dict. Angl.* first enriched our language with the word *Adent*, he must at least be allowed to have been the first writer, who is known to have affixed to it that *general, metaphorical* sense, in which it must be understood in the Poems. The inference, in either case, is equally strong, that the Poems were not written in the XVth century.

Mr. BRYANT has not attempted to produce any authority for the use of the word *Adente*. His derivation of it [p. 150] from the Saxon noun *Dynt*,

is "*abaten, b. daunted, abashed.*" See also the articles *accay* and *accogen*, *astere*, *astrag*, *astler*, &c. This last word is formed from a mistaken reading in a Ballad of Lydgate's, as the compiler of Gloss. Ug. has observed. The true reading is *A Giler*, or rather *Gilour*, a deceiver. In the same manner *astere* has been erroneously inserted by SPEIGHT in his Glossary for *fare*; *astens* for *bent*; *astins* for *ripe*; all which words have been copied from him by SKINNER, without expressing the least doubt of their authenticity. And yet these are the two authorities, to which my learned antagonists generally appeal, as to the court of the last resort.

I will just add, that, as SKINNER appears to have taken most of his *old* words from SPEIGHT and PHILLIPS, so the later Dictionary-makers, KERSEY, COLES, BAILLY, &c. seem to have attempted nothing more (in that part of their works) than to hand down to us the words of that description, which they found in SKINNER, or in any other of their predecessors. *Unum nomen, omnes nomen.* The authority of one is as good as that of all; and the authority of all no better than that of the first.



or *Dent*; *idus*; a forcible impression; seems to me less admissible than the DEAN'S from the French verb *Adenter*. I believe, few people, who know what an *indenture* is, will be of opinion with him, that our "current verb, *To indent*; to make a bargain; to contract; should be derived from the Saxon *Dynt*, rather than from the French *endenter*."

7. *ADRAMES*. Ep. 27.

Loughe loudlie dynneth from the dolte *adrames*.  
This word Mr. BRYANT has passed over. ANDONYMUS, in vindication of it, produces "Adraminga O. word: churlish Cocker. See also Bailey." He might have added COLES, KERNEY, and PHILLIPS.—The DEAN of EXETER says boldly, "that we have the authority of SHAKESPEARE for this word, and for the sense in which it is used." But, surely, he cannot seriously mean that *John a-dreams* in SHAKESPEARE gives any countenance to *Adrames*, as used here. *John a'dreams*, i. e. *of dreams*, is no more likely to have given rise to such a noun as *Adrames*, than *Jack a'lent* and *Jack a'lantern* are to have produced new families of *Alents* and *Alanterns*. Had the phrase been *drame adolts* (as it might, and probably would, have been, if a rime in *olts* had been required), it might have been as well defended.

## 8. ALATCHE. Æ. 117.

Leave me swythe or I'll *alatche*.

This word is also passed over by Mr. BRYANT.—ANONYMUS cites from LYE, “Ge-lathian, ciere, arcessere, advocare;” and from RAY, “Lathing, Entreaty or Invitation;” and concludes, that “*I'll alatche*” signifies “*I'll call out for helpe.*” That this was the meaning of the author, I have little doubt; but the question is, whether the word expresses it. The same meaning, I apprehend, would have been drawn from *abatche*, or any other word of no real signification. That *Alatche* is not capable of it, I conclude from the conduct of the DEAN of EXETER, who would never have taken the pains to suggest four or five unsatisfactory explanations of a word, when he had it in his power to establish one so suitable to the context.

## 9. ALMER. Ch. 20. 77.

Where from the hail-stone coulde the *almer* flie? Mr. BRYANT and ANONYMUS both suppose, that *Almer* has been put by mistake of the transcriber for *Palmer*. Mr. BRYANT observes very judiciously [p. 102], “It is not impossible, but that there might have been such a word to denote an *asker of alms*; but it is contrary to analogy, and I think improbable.” The DEAN however contends, that no alteration is necessary. He asks, “Why may not this word be applied to the *receiver* as well as to

to the *giver* of alms?" I answer; The application of it to the *giver* of alms would, in my opinion, have been as unwarrantable as to the *receiver*. The former, in our language, is called an *Almshouse*, the latter an *Alms-man*. But he goes on; "At least, such an application of the word in Latin is justified by Canning's will, who leaves legacies to the alms-men of Westbury College, under the title of *Eleemosynarii*, or *Almsmen*." What is meant by an "application of the word (*Almsmen*) in Latin," I do not understand; and in what follows I suspect a little inaccuracy: but if Canning's will really mentions the alms-men of Westbury under the title of *Almsmen*, I shall certainly no longer dispute the authenticity of the word. Till this is made clear, I must be allowed to observe, that, in a quotation from Canning's will, p. 421 of the Dean's book, these same legacies, I presume, appear to have been left *sex pauperibus eleemosynariis de Westbury*—without the explanatory addition—*or almsmen*,

10. *ALUSTE*, H. 1. 88.

That Alured coulde not hymself *aluste*.

Mr. BRYANT agrees with me [p. 79], that *Aluste* has been put by a mistake of CHATTERTON's for *Ajuste*. We may differ perhaps hereafter about the inference to be drawn from this mistake; but I am happy to have him with me, though for ever



so short a time.—ANONYMUS supposes *Aluste* to be only another form of the verb *alysan*, and to signify in this passage *To release or free*. The DEAN agrees with him as to the signification of the word; but, not being able to find *Alustan* among the A. S. verbs, supposes *Aluste* to be a participle formed from *Alysan*; and adds, “that it is not uncommon with our ancient poets to use the participle instead of the infinitive mode.” It was incumbent therefore on the DEAN to shew, in the first place (at least by some analogical reasoning), that such a participle as *Aluste* could be formed from *Alysan*; and secondly, that either the participle so formed, or even the verb itself, remained in use in the XVth century. Till both these points were established, it was rather unnecessary for him to hazard his last assertion, “that it is *not uncommon* with our ancient poets to use the participle instead of the infinitive mode.” I had pointed out *two* instances of this inaccuracy in CHAUCER (in a passage, which the DEAN has done me the honour to quote, p: 497), but I conceived it to have been *very uncommon*; and I am confirmed in that opinion by the few instances, with which the DEAN has attempted to corroborate his assertion. The passages from the *Tragedy of Ælla* can only have been alledged in joke. The line of OCCLEVE, which he has quoted from WARTON, [Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 42,] is misprinted. An excellent

cellent Ms. in the Museum, Bib. Reg. 17 D. vi. instead of "to hope him fro mischance" reads rightly "to kepe him." And in the line of GOWER, "As thou hast *berd me sayd tofore*," I have little doubt, that we should read, either *berd me sayn*, or *berde sayd*.

II. ALYNE. T. 79.

Wythe murther tyred he flynges hys bowe *alyne*.

Mr. BRYANT has said nothing for this word.—ANONYMUS quotes "Alynian and Alynнан, Sax. liberare. "Hence *alyne*.—He slings his bow *unbent*."—The DEAN supposes *Alyne* to be the same word as *Alleyn*, an adjective, signifying *Alone*, and sometimes emphatically, *single* and *separate*. This passage therefore he supposes to mean, that "the Duke, after he had finished his sport, slung his bow over his shoulders *Alyne*, i. e. *single* and *separated* from the concomitant quiver." But surely the bow was more *single* and *separated* from the quiver, while it was in the Duke's hand, than when it was slung over his shoulders; the quiver, I apprehend, hanging also from the shoulders. This explanation therefore of *Alyne* is not only unfounded, but also inconsistent. The explanation of ANONYMUS makes better sense, but, being equally unfounded, cannot be admitted.

12. ALYSE. Lc. 29.—G. 180.

Somme dryblette share you shoulde to that *alyse*,  
 Fullle twentie mancas I wyllle thee *alife*.

ANONYMUS has heaped together a number of proofs, that *Alysan* was a Saxon verb, signifying *To release*. It would have been more to the present purpose to shew, that *Alyse* had ever been used, by any writer in or near the XVth century, in the sense of *Allow*; in which sense, Mr. BRYANT observes, "the word is interpreted very truly" in both these passages; and the DEAN of EXETER concurs with him. How CHATTERTON came to affix the sense of *Allow* to the obsolete verb *Alyse*, will be more properly considered in another place, when we proceed to determine the share which he probably had in these Poems. At present I think it sufficient to observe, that these two learned persons have by no means proved that this word ever bore such a sense. Their arguments seem all to rest upon mistaken interpretations of some equivocal words. *Alysan* is rendered in the Dict. Sax. *liberare, solvere*. This the DEAN calls a double signification, implying both *deliverance* and *payment*. But every one knows, that *solvo*, though it sometimes signifies *To pay*, has generally the same signification with *Libero*; *To loose*, or *set free*; and the very instance, which he has quoted, *solvere jejuniū*, does not convey the least idea of *payment*.



payment. Again; as *Deliver* with us is an equivocal word, which may be made to signify either *To deliver from*, or *To deliver to*; the DEAN chooses to interpret *Liber* in the latter sense, and to deduce from it *Delivery*, *Payment*, or *Allowance*, as three synonymous words. But he should have proved first, that *Alysan* had any other sense than that of the Latin *Liber*; *To deliver from*. Mr. BRYANT indeed says, that it signifies *To permit, grant, and allow*; but I cannot see that he has produced any authority for any one of those significations. When he says, that it signifies *To pay tribute*, he founds himself, I presume, upon that passage of OROSIUS, which is quoted in the DICT. SAXON. where "*Alysan that land*" is interpreted "*Redimere terram, i.e. tributum pendere.*" But who does not see that *Redimere* in that passage is the interpretation of *Alysan*, and that *tributum pendere* is an addition of the Lexicographer, to shew the particular mode in which, in that instance, the land was to be redeemed, or freed? If the land had been to be redeemed, or freed, by battle, would any one contend that *Alysan* signified *To fight*? Though a redemption or deliverance may be effected by a payment, the two ideas of redeeming and paying are totally distinct, and there seems to be no pretence for considering the words as synonymous.

19. ANERE. Æ. 15. Ep. 48.

And cann I lyve to see herr wythe *anere*?

— Adieu untylle *anere*.

ANONYMUS is content to leave this word *at present unexplained*; but insists, that “it evidently appears to have been originally no word of CHATTERTON’S; for himself could not make sense of it in the close of the Epistle to Canning.” I can never admit the conclusion, that a word was not Chatterton’s, because he could not make (i. e. *has not made*) sense of it; but in the present case I deny the fact. “Adieu untylle *anere*,” i. e. *another letter*, seems to me very tolerable sense; and the interpretation of *anere* to mean *another* is confirmed by the other passage. Æ. 15.—Accordingly the DEAN of EXETER makes no difficulty of supposing that *anere* is put for *another*; and contends, that contractions of this kind are to be found in many authors, whom he names; but without any reference to particular passages. He also does me the honour to quote me, as having *answered my own objection*. I have said, it seems, somewhere, that *nerer* is a contraction for *nerer*; and IN MY GLOSSARY, that *n’ere* and *n’ere it* are contractions, for *were not* and *were it not*; (he should have rather said, for *ne were* and *ne were it*;) and in another place, that *ferre* is used for *ferer*, and *derre* for *derer*. All this I admit; but how it is applicable to the present question

I can-

I cannot see. Do such contractions as these furnish any ground for supposing, that *anere* was ever put for *another*, or *brere* for *brother*, &c. The contractions quoted from ROBERT of GLOUCESTER are, if possible, still less to the purpose.

Mr. BRYANT has very prudently taken no notice of this word.

14. ANETE. p. 281. 64.

Whych yn the blofom woulde fuch fms *anete*.

Mr. BRYANT is again silent.—ANONYMUS quotes from his Dict. Sax. “Nedan, cogere, compellere.—Anydan, repellere, expellere.”—And concludes, “that *anete* may signify *expel*, or *drive away*; or *repel*. I wish he would produce some English authority for *anete* in either of those senses, or even for *anede*.—The DEAN of EXETER understands the word in a very different sense. According to him “it is the old English word *nete*, or *nought*, with the A. S. prefix;—to which corresponds the old French verb *aneantised* (*anibilated*) which is used by Chaucer.” Waiving the discussion, whether there exists such an old English word as *nete*, I will be satisfied, if the DEAN will produce a single instance, in which *nete*, or *anete*, or *nought*, or *anought*, is used as a VERB. Till that is done, he should not require us to believe, that any one of those words corresponds to a French VERB, or can signify *anibilate*.



## 15. APPLYNGES. E. 1. 33.

Mic tendre *applynges* and embodyde trees.

The three learned commentators have all exerted themselves at some length in defence of this word; though they are by no means agreed, whether it signifies *little apples*, or *little apple-trees*. As they have not produced any thing like an authority for the use of it in either of those significations, I must remain in my first opinion, that there is no such word.

## 16. ARROW-LEDE. H. 1. 74.

Han by his foundynge *arrowe-lede* bene fleyne.

ANONYMUS says, that *arrowe-lede* signifies *the path of the arrow*, from *lade*. Sax. iter, profectio.—The DEAN thinks, that it may be a mis-spelling for *arrow-bede*; or that it may mean an arrow *beaded with lead*.—Mr. BRYANT says nothing; and I shall imitate him.

## 17. ASENGLAVE. H. 1. 117.

But Harold's *asenglave* stopp'd it as it flewe.

ANONYMUS interprets this word to mean "*a shining sword: a bright book or bill*."—The Dean says, that it means in one place *a spear*, in another *the steely part of a lance*. No authority is produced for any of these interpretations, or for the existence of the word; which Mr. BRYANT has passed over.

18. ASLEE. *Æ.* 304.

That doest *aslee* alonge ynn doled dystresse.

19. ASSWAIE. *Æ.* 352.

Botte thos to leave thee, Birtha, dothe *asswaie*

Moe torturing peynes, &c.

20. ASTENDE. *G.* 47.

Acheke the mokie aire and heaven *astende*.

I beg leave to dispatch these three words together; only observing, that Mr. BRYANT has said nothing for them; that the two other learned persons have produced no authority for the use of any one of them, and differ exceedingly in their explanations and etymologies of all of them.

III. Under my SECOND GENERAL HEAD of words used by other writers, but in a different sense from that in which they must be construed in the Poems, I had objected to the same number of *twenty* instances, as they occurred to me in running over the first half of the alphabetical index. All of these have been variously defended by one or other of the three learned patrons of this NEW OLD POET; with what success we are now to examine.

1. ABOUNDE. *H.* 1. 55.

His cristede beaver dyd him smalle *abounde*.

ANONYMUS would derive this word from the Saxon verb *gebindan*, *ligare*—; hence *bunden*, &c. It seems

seems to be used here, he says, not as a *verb*, but as a *substantive*; and he interprets the line to mean, "His crested beaver afforded him *small binding* by way of defence."—Mr. BRYANT too considers this word as a *substantive*; but thinks, "that the transcriber has made a mistake, and expressed by *abounde*, what was originally *abonne*, or *abone*; by which is signified any good or advantage." But SKINNER, who is Mr. BRYANT's only authority even for *abone*, considers it as a *verb*, and deduces it immediately from the Fr. *abonnir*. And the DEAN of EXETER (from SKINNER, I presume) says, that it is a *verb*, equivalent to *bonum facere* in Latin, to *abonnir* in French, and to *abbonar* in Italian. Whoever will take the pains to look into the Dictionaries for the meaning of those words, in French and Italian, will see how little it suits with this passage. The DEAN adds, that it might be deduced also from the English word *boon*, or *favour*; and I really think that it might, with more probability than from any other, with the help of his A. S. prefix, which I wonder he should have forgotten on this occasion.

## 2. Aledge. G. 5.

Lette notte thie agreme blyn, ne aledge stonde.  
This word, says Mr. BRYANT [p. 76], "CHAT-  
TERTON interprets *idly*: and that was certainly the  
original purport of the passage, before it was so-  
phisticated



phisticated by him. For he has transposed the letters, and formed his opinion by guess. The word *idle* is from the Saxon *ydele*, the adverb of which is *ydeleth* (rather *ydeleth*). Therefore instead of *pledge* he should have expressed it *adelege*, which is analogous to *ydeleth*. This was undoubtedly the true reading, of which *pledge* is a transposition." Here are several points in this observation which call for our attention. Mr. BRYANT supposes, that CHATTERTON has interpreted this passage rightly, *by guess*; and that he has *sophisticated*, or purposely corrupted, the original word, by a *transposition of letters*; but he has not stated clearly, I think, what he supposes that original word to have been, whether *ydeleth*, or *adelege*. If it was *ydeleth*, how can *pledge* be said to be a transposition of it? If it was really *adelege*, what temptation could CHATTERTON have to change it into *pledge*? Was it to give the passage a more antique, or a more modern, appearance? to make it more, or less intelligible? These are questions, which I wish the reader to put to himself, whenever he sees CHATTERTON charged with *sophistication*; and I must also desire him to remember, that this "unexperienced and unlettered boy" is here allowed to have given a true interpretation *by guess* of a singularly obscure word; for though Mr. BRYANT can see that *adelege* is analogous to *ydeleth*, there are many persons,

I appre-

I apprehend, of some learning and experience, who would never have suspected it.

But, to come to the point immediately under consideration, Mr. BRYANT agrees with me, that *alodge* has no meaning, which will suit this passage; and his authority I beg leave to oppose to ANONYMUS and the DEAN of EXETER; the former of whom would interpret it *repress'd*, and the latter *composed*, or *relieved*.

3. ALL-A-BOON. E. III. 41.—p. 23. l. 4.

*All-a-boon*, syr Priest, *all-a-boon*.

Thys ys the onelie *all-a-boone*, I crave.

Upon this word, or phrase, whichever it is to be called, Mr. BRYANT has said nothing. ANONYMUS has attempted a faint defence of it from his *Glossaries*, i. e. SPEGHT; for SKINNER and the others, in this instance, seem clearly to have been misled by SPEGHT. The DEAN of EXETER has gone to work more manfully, and contends, that in the passage which I have quoted from CHAUCER, C. T. ver. 9492, "And alderfirst he bade hem *all a bone*," (the only passage, I believe, in which these eight letters are to be found together in the same order,) *all* is improperly separated from the following letters, as an *adjective* connected with the pronoun *hem*, and might as well be made to constitute part of what he calls the phrase *all-a-bone*; which in that case must be con-

sidered

sidered as a *substantive*, governed of the verb *bade*, and equivalent to *boon* or *favour*. Which of these constructions is the most natural and probable, I shall leave to the judgement of the reader. Upon what the DEAN adds, that "according to the idiom of the English language *all* is sometimes used as an expletive," I must observe, that his quotations by no means prove the fact. Nor, if it were proved, would it much help him. For though it should be admitted to remove the difficulty in the first passage, yet, in the second, not only *all*, but *a* too, must be considered as an expletive. *The only a boon* would be as great a solecism, as *the only all a boon*.

5. ALLEYN. E. 1. 52.

Mie sonne, mie sonne alleyn ystorven ys.

This word too has been passed over by Mr. BRYANT. The other two gentlemen have taken some pains to vindicate it, without having apprehended the ground of my objection. They both suppose me to have objected to the *possession*, and not to the *meaning*, of *alleyn* in this passage; and therefore have heaped together examples of what they wish to be considered as similar transpositions; such as, *cōsyn mine*; *mōther mine*, &c. But my objection was, and is, to the use of *alleyn*, or *alone*, for *only*; *solus* for *unicus*; *seul* for *unique*. The distinction, I believe, subsists in most lan-



guages. If the learned persons do not yet apprehend it, I would advise them, in the following passage of SHAKESPEARE [3d Part HENRY VI.]—  
 “ Ah! no, it is *my only son*”—to substitute—*my son alone*—and to judge for themselves, whether the difference in the idea suggested arises merely from the different *position* of the words.

5. ASCAUNCE. E. III. 52.

Lokeyng *ascaunce* upon the naighboure greene.

The DEAN of EXETER's quotation from *La belle dame sans merci* has convinced me, that this word, in the sense of *sideways, obliquely*, was used earlier in our language than I apprehended, and therefore I beg leave to withdraw my objection to it in this passage.

6. ASTERTE. G. 137.

— — you have their worth *asterte*.

To this word Mr. BRYANT has said nothing. The DEAN has accumulated quotations, to shew that *asterte* signifies *to start from, to escape*. Of which I never doubted. But how does that signification suit this passage? Thus, says the DEAN. “ He *escaped from, avoided, declined, and suffered their merit to escape his notice.*” So that *to escape from a thing*, and *to suffer a thing to escape from you*, is the same idea; and we may say as properly, that *the bound asterite the hare*, as that *the hare asterite the bound*. But surely to introduce such arbitrary interpre-

interpretations of words is to confound all language.

ANONYMUS, as usual, has had recourse to his Saxon dictionary, but has unluckily mistaken a very material letter. The words which he quotes, "*Astere*, orbatus, *asternes*se oratio, *asterte* orphani," are all printed in my copy, as they certainly should be printed, *asteped*, *astepnesse*, *astep*te. It is needless to examine any inference from a false quotation.

7. AUMERE. Æ. 398. Ch. 7.—AUMERES.  
E. III. 25.

Depycte wyth skylled honde upponn thie wyde  
*aumere*.

And eke the grounde was dyghte in its most  
deste *aumere*.

Wythe gelten *aumeres* stronge ontolde.

I cannot find that Mr. BRYANT has contributed any thing to the illustration of this word; and ANONYMUS has merely adopted the explanation of it by SKINNER, which certainly will not suit all these passages. The DEAN of EXETER indeed asserts, that "the application of this word, in these different passages, in which it occurs, is established on the strongest proofs. The *gelten aumeres*, E. III. 25. are properly explained by CHATTERTON, *borders of gold and silver*: they might be *bracelets*.—The earth's *deste aumere*,

Ch. 7, is no less properly called a *loose robe or mantle*, surrounding it; and the *wide aumere*, or garment of hope, *Æ. 397.* is equally applicable in either sense." But, instead of proving that *aumere* was ever used in either of these significations, all that he endeavours to prove is, that it does *not* signify a *purse*, as I had interpreted it. The reader must see, that, if this point were given up, the DEAN's argument would be very little benefited, as he would still have to prove a positive sense of *aumere*, agreeing with the use of it in the Poems. However, as he has thought it worth his while to attack my interpretation at some length, I shall say a few words in defence of my former opinion.

He allows, that "the word does not occur in any of our ancient poets, except in CHAUCER's R. R. v. 2271.

Weare streighte gloves with *aumere*  
Of silk, and always with good chere  
Thou geve &c.

And that the French original stands thus:

De gans, et de bourse de soye,  
Et de sainture te cointoye.

SKINNER, who probably did not think of consulting the original, supposed *aumere* to be something belonging to *gloves*, and so at a venture expounded it *simbria*, *inslita*; a *fringe* or *border*. It seemed,



seemed, and still seems, most probable to me, that *aumere of silk* is CHAUCER's translation of *bourse de soye*; and consequently that *aumere* was something equivalent to a *purse*. But the DEAN, if I understand him rightly, differs from us both, and thinks that *aumere* is a translation of *saincture*, a girdle. "The *saincture*, or girdle," says he, "has escaped the notice of the learned Editor (as he is pleased to call me), though, as a principal ornament in ancient dress, it was more likely to be mentioned by the poet than the purse." Which was more likely to be mentioned by the poet, is not the question, but which is mentioned; and if the girdle escaped the notice of CHAUCER, I do not see that I was bound to take any notice of it. In short, *aumere*, upon the face of this passage, must probably signify, either *something belonging to gloves*, or a *purse*, or a *girdle*; and I think I might safely trust the intelligent reader with the determination, in which of these three senses it is here used by CHAUCER. But I have also referred to another passage of the same poem, R. R. ver. 2087. in which he uses *aumener* in this same sense of a *purse*. The DEAN has given the lines of CHAUCER;—

Then from his *aumener* he drough

A little key fetise enough,—

And of the original;—

Adonc de sa *bourse* il traict

Un petit clef bien fait,—

D 3

Where

Where *aumener* is undoubtedly the translation of *bourse*. I must observe further, that in what I take to be the most accurate and authentic edition of the French *Roman de la Rose* [Paris. 1727], these two lines are thus written, ver. 2028. *Lors a de l'aumoniere traicte  
Une petite clef bien faicte—* which, I apprehend, adds no small strength to my conjecture, that both *aumener* and *aumere* are derivatives from the French *aumoniere*. If so, it becomes still clearer, that the proper signification of *aumere* is a *purse*; a signification, which will not suit any one of the passages, in which the word occurs in these Poems.

8. BARBED. Æ. 27. 219.

Nott whann from the *barbed horse* &c.

Mic lord fadre's *barbde halle* han ne wynnyng.

Upon the first of these passages, I had just hinted a doubt, whether *barbed horse* was an expression in use in the XVth century, and I confess I should still wish to see some earlier authority for it than Shakespeare. But my principal objection was to *barbde halle*; to which no sufficient answer has been given. The supposition of ANONYMUS, that *barbed*, in these passages, is to be deduced from *To barb*; to trim and dress the beard, or to put it into proper form; is ridiculous. The expression, *barbed horse*, whenever it came into our language, was certainly taken from the French, *cheval bardé*,

See

See COTGRAVE, "*bardé*; barbed, or trapped, as a great horse. *Bardes*; barbes, or trappings, for horses of service, or of shew." And DU CANGE, in V. BARDA, "*Equus Bardatus*, i. e. *Catapbractus*." As therefore this epithet appears to have been peculiarly appropriated to *horses*, and no instance is produced of its ever having been applied in a similar sense to any other subject, I do conceive (in answer to the DEAN of EXETER's question) that there would have been at all times a great impropriety in applying it to the hall in a gentleman's country seat, though hung round with all the variety of armour, described in his *Ballad of the Old Courtier*.

Mr. BRYANT has not taken any notice of this word.

9. BLAKE. *Æ.* 178. 407.

Whanne Autumpne *blake* and sonne-brente doe appere.

*Blake* stondeth future doome, and joie doth mee alyse.

Here too Mr. BRYANT is silent. ANONYMUS supposes it in the first passage to signify *yellow*; and the DEAN of EXETER agrees with him. I know that RAY mentions it, among his *N. Country words*, as applied to *butter and cheese* in that sense. If the gentlemen choose to apply it as an epithet to *Autumn*, I shall not contest the matter with them.



My objection to it was, that it appeared to be used in the sense of *naked*, particularly in the latter passage. To get rid of this objection, ANONYMUS supposes very strangely, that *blake* in this passage signifies *frightful, horrid*. But the latter part of the line refutes his supposition. For how can a *frightful, horrid doom* give any occasion for *joy*? The DEAN of EXETER quotes BAILEY for an explanation of "*Bleak, i. e. open, exposed, and therefore cold;*" and from thence interprets *Blake stondeih future doome* to mean *my future fate is open* and exposed to my view. But here I am afraid we are in danger of being misled by an *equivocal* term, I can understand, that *bleak*, applied to a *place or situation*, may properly signify *open, exposed, and therefore cold;* but how it can be applied, in either of these senses, to a *prospect of futurity*, I do not understand. Besides, what shall we say to *blakied*, E. 111. 4.? From this adjective *blake*, supposed to signify *open*, we must form a verb *To blakie*, signifying *To open*, in order to get at a participle *blakied*, which may signify *opened*, and, by the help of a paraphrase, *naked and undisguised*. What a whimsical fellow this ROWLEY must have been, to take such a round-about way to avoid the use of the common English word *naked*, which was so perfectly suitable to his sense and his metre?

40. BODYKIN. Æ. 265.

And for a *bodykin* a *swarthe* obteyne,  
That *bodykin* is a good diminutive term, as ANONY-  
MUS asserts, I shall not deny. But the question  
is, whether it was, or can be properly, used as a  
mere synonyme of its original word. Every one  
must see that in this passage *bodykin* stands for  
*body*, and not as a diminutive term.—But, says  
the DEAN of EXETER, SHAKESPEARE has used  
the word, in the oath “*God’s bodikins*” in HAM-  
LET. And so, I think, he has somewhere such an  
oath as ‘*odspitykins*’; and I would advise the next  
fabricator of ancient poetry, whenever he shall  
find *pity* too short for his verse, to write *pitykin*.  
He will be sure of at least one defender.

When I added, under this article, that *swarthe*,  
as a noun, had no sense that I was acquainted with,  
I did not recollect that RAY, among his *North-*  
*country words*, has set down *swarth*, as used in  
Cumberland, for *the ghost of a dying person*. The  
DEAN says, it signifies *the ghost of a dead man*;  
but, as I am informed, it is most commonly used  
in Cumberland in the sense, which ANONYMUS has  
given to it, of *the shadow or resemblance of a living*  
*person*, whose death it is supposed to prognosticate.  
I have never heard of its having been used in the  
*West*. For the present, however, we will take  
Mr. BRYANT’s word [p. 163. 250.] for ROWLEY’s  
*Travels in the North*, and suppose, that he might  
have

have brought this new term home with him, yet surely the great extension, which he has given to its original signification, must surprize us. Not content with transferring it at once from its particular and appropriated sense above described, to denote a *shadow* in general, he has further extended it, by various gradations, to signify (according to the DEAN of EXETER) the *spirit, ghost, vital principle, or departing soul* of man. In one or other of these senses, he has formed from it an ADJECTIVE *swartblefs*, signifying *lifeless*; and a PARTICIPLE *swartbing* (from a VERB *swarth*, I suppose) to signify *dying*. All this is so new, and contrary to the usual progress of language, that I must consider every one of these words as furnishing a strong argument against the genuineness of the Poems, till the use of them shall be established by the authority of some REALLY ANCIENT writer.

II. BORDEL. E. III. 2. Æ. 147. BORDE-  
LIER. E. 41c.

Goe serche the logges and *bordels* of the hynde,  
We wylle in a *bordelle* lyve.

Hailie the robber and the *bordelyer*.

My three learned antagonists have admitted both my positions with respect to these words; that *bordel*, in very OLD FRENCH, signifies a *cottage*, and *bordelier* a *cottager*; but that CHAUCER uses  
the



the first for a *brothel*; or *bawdy-house*, and the second for the keeper of such a house. As not one of them has attempted to prove, that either of these words has been used in its primitive sense by any writer since CHAUCER, I shall say no more about them.

12. BYSMARE. M. 95.

Roarynge and rolleyng on yn course *bysmare*.

ANONYMUS acquiesces in my explanation of this word, in CHAUCER, to signify *abusive speech*; and says, "that no other signification is wanted here." He supposes that *bysmare*, applied to the course of a river, may signify *taunting and dashing its banks*. It would certainly be a *bold* metaphor; and would not at all help us in the interpretation of *bismard* and *bismarlie*, two other words evidently formed from this.—The DEAN of EXETER says; that "*bismare*, *bismarde*, and *bismarelie*, and wherever else the word occurs in these Poems," (as if the three words were only one) "it signifies *capricious*, *fanciful*, *delusive*; in which sense it is explained by our Glossarists." The explanations of the Glossarists are too *bismare* (if I may be allowed the expression) to be repeated. Upon the whole, I should have no objection to enlarge the sense, which I had given to this word, so far as to comprehend *abuse*, or *contumely*, by *action* as well as *speech*. Further than this, I really think we have not

not any authority for going; much less for converting the *noun* into an *adjective*, or *participle*, and forming an *adverb* from it. Mr. BRYANT himself objects to the use of the word *bysmare* as an *ADJECTIVE*, which, he says, by all other writers is used as a *SUBSTANTIVE*. He therefore suspects an error in the copy, and that *course* *bysmare* was in the original *boarse bysmare*; which he explains to mean *boarse terror*. Having thus supposed *bysmare* to signify *terror*, he next supposes *bysmarde* to signify "*astonished, filled with veneration*;" being a *PARTICIPLE*, as he calls it, from the *SUBSTANTIVE* *bismar*. What *bismarlie* signifies he does not say. Can any one read the lame and discordant expositions of these three learned men, without being satisfied that no authorised sense of *bismar* can be found, which will suit the context?

13. CHAMPYON, v. P. G, 12,

Wee better for to doe do *champion* anie onc.

I doubted whether *champion* was used as a verb by any writer much earlier than Shakespeare, and I am now confirmed in my doubt, upon finding, that no instance of its having been so used by any such writer can be produced.

14. CONTAKE. T. 87. CONTEKE. E. 11. 10.

— — I *contake* thie waie.

*Conteke* the dynnyng ayte and reche the skies.

When

When I said, that I knew no instance of *conteke* used as a verb, I should have said as a verb *active*, and in the sense required in these passages; though the latter circumstance, without being formally stated, must be considered as making a necessary part of every objection under this SECOND GENERAL HEAD. If I had been provident enough to state my objection so fully, I conceive that the DEAN of EXETER would hardly have thought it "a sufficient answer, to quote ROBERT of GLOUCESTER for the word *conteked*, which his Glossarist explains *contested*, or *contended*." He would at least, I presume, have thought it proper to quote the passage at large, in which the word *conteked* occurs. Till we see the contrary, we have a right to suppose, from the explanation of the Glossarist, that it occurs only as a verb *neuter*, and not as a verb *active*. For the two words, by which he explains it, *contested*, *contended*, are only synonymous, when they are used as verbs *neuter*. Indeed, *To contend* is never properly used as a verb *active*; though *To contest* is frequently as a verb *neuter*. We might say, *To contest the way*; and *To contest*, or *contend*, *with any one for the way*; but not *To contend the way*. If therefore *contested* is truly explained by the Glossarist, it was used by ROBERT of GLOUCESTER as a verb *neuter*, and gives no countenance to the use of *conteke* in either of these passages. But if it should even appear

to



to have been used by him as a *verb active*, yet still the objection to the use of it in the latter passage will remain in full force; for who ever heard of such an expression as to *conteke*, or *contest*, the *dinning air*?

Mr. BRYANT has said nothing to this or the preceding word, and ANONYMUS what may be considered as nothing.

15. DERNE. Æ. 582. DERNIE. E. 1. 19.

El. 8. M. 106.

When thou didst boaste soe moche of actyon *derne*.

Oh Raufe, comme lyfte and hear mie *dernie* tale.

O gentle Juga, heare mie *dernie* plainte.

He wrythde arounde yn drearie *dernie* payne.

ANONYMUS says, "It is at least very doubtful, whether *derne* is ever used by CHAUCER in the sense" (which I had assigned to it) "of *secret*, *private*." For a solution of his doubt I must refer him to the two passages cited in the GLOSSARY to the CANTERBURY TALES. He adds, "Neither BENSON, nor LYE, give any such Saxon adjective as *derne*." They BOTH give *dyrn*, and interpret it *occultus*; and in LYE's JUNIUS it is spelt *derne*, and interpreted *occultus*, *secretus*. So much for the original of this word; with which RAY's account of the use of it in the North perfectly agrees. "*Dearn*, for *lonely*, *solitary*, *far from neighbours*." And perhaps, if the DEAN had thought fit to produce

duce that passage of ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, in which his Glossarist has interpreted *derne* to mean *dismal*, *sad*, it would have been found not incapable of the same sense. It is highly probable, I think, that SPEIGHT not only mistook the meaning of *derne* in CHAUCER, but also misled SKINNER to render it *dirus*, *crudelis*; and *dernly*, in SPENSER, quoted by the DEAN, is interpreted by UPTON to mean only *eagerly*, *earnestly*. To discuss all these matters minutely is unnecessary; since, even if *derne* should be allowed to signify *cruel* as well as *secret*, the use of *dernie* and *aderne* in these Poems would form an insurmountable objection to their authenticity.

16. DROORIE. Ep. 47.

Botte lette ne wordes, which *droorie* mote ne heare,  
Be placed in the same.—

I had said, that the common sense of *druerie*, which is *courtship*, *gallantry*, would not suit with this passage. To this ANONYMUS answers, "that it is doubtful whether *druerie* ever conveys any such idea." It may be doubtful to him, who seems rarely to have looked beyond his Saxon Dictionary and Bailey for the meaning of any word. Upon this occasion however he quotes VERSTEGAN, as saying, "*drew*, *drewrie* is spoken of *sadness*, *melancholy*." Now all that I can find in VERSTEGAN to this purpose is in his IXth chapter,

ter, where he gives an account of the supposed derivations of many surnames. There he says, "DREW or DREWRIE, of *sadness*;" i. e. the surname of *Drew* or *Drewrie* is derived from *sadness*. How very different is this from what ANONYMUS would make him say? *Drew*, in VERSTEGAN, is a noun (the Saxon *draeg*), and *drewrie* an adjective (our *dreary*), and both names may be properly said to be derived from *draeg*, signifying *sadness*; whereas ANONYMUS represents him as proving that *Drewrie*, as well as *Drew*, is a noun, signifying *sadness*.

But all this is trifling: for *druerie* is undoubtedly a French word; and the signification assigned to it in the APPENDIX is fully established by the passages cited in the GLOSSARY to the CANTERBURY TALES, v. DRUERIE. [See also the SUPPLEMENT, p. 260, for an elegant description of a *drut*, or *lover*, by a Provençal poet.] It is used in the same sense by ROBERT of GLOUCESTER, in a passage, quoted by Mr. BRYANT upon another occasion [p. 133], which probably induced him to be silent upon this.

"Wymmen ne kept of no knygt, as in *drury*."  
If we construe this, that *they took no notice*, or care, of any knight, as in *modesty*, what a pretty idea will it give us of the delicacy and good-breeding of the ladies of King Arthur's court, of which, as Mr. BRYANT observes, the author is speaking?

In



In the same sense it is used by GOWER, in a passage quoted by the DEAN of EXETER. He is speaking of a lazy lover—

— “that for no *druerie*  
He wol not leave his sluggardie.”

And yet the DEAN insists, that *droorie* signifies *modesty*; and attempts to prove it by asking, “*Is not the language of courtship the language of modesty?*” One might certainly answer, “*Not always, or necessarily,*” to this question, and so stop the whole argumentation at once. But to let it go on. What is the inference? Because *the language of courtship is the language of modesty*, therefore *courtship and modesty are synonymous terms*; and *druerie*, which signifies *courtship*, signifies also *modesty*! Besides this argument, such as it is, the DEAN has heaped together several quotations, which I shall pass over. Except that from GOWER, just mentioned, which makes against him, they are all instances of some *secondary* senses of the word *druerie*, not one of which is in the least applicable to the present passage.

17. FONNES. E. 11. 14. Æ. 421. FONs. T. 4.

Decorn with *sonnes* rare—

On of the *sonnis* whych the cletche have made.

Quayntyffed *sonr* depictedd on eche sheelde.

The question is, whether there be such a *noun plural* as *sonnes*, which has any sense suitable to

these passages. ANONYMUS quotes his Dictionary for "*fon*, a SAXON VERB, *capere*, *accipere*, *recipere*;" but that surely is nothing to the purpose. Then he says; "In WICLIFF, "*these fonnyd lords and people*" signifies *lords and people deluded* (I might say *made fools of*) by the tricks of the priests." This rather confirms my interpretation of *fonnes*. He adds, what he calls, two examples of *this word*, in different translations of the Lord's Prayer, preserved in CAMBden's REMAINS (p. 32), where *founding* and *fonding* stand for what is now expressed *temptation*. But surely these cannot be called examples of *fonnes*, nor will the sense of *temptation* suit these passages. BAILEY's word, "*fonnes, devices*," rests ultimately upon the authority of SPEGHT.

Mr. BRYANT (p. 44) promises to *speake more particularly concerning this word hereafter*; but I cannot find that he has resumed the subject. In this place, he is considering only the first of the passages above stated; and he says, that "*fonne* is the same as the Saxon *fan*; and signifies *any curious device*; but particularly *vexillum*, a standard or ensign." Upon what he founds his assertion, "that the Saxon *fan* signifies *any curious device*," I cannot conceive; that it signifies *vexillum*, I allow; but, allowing also that *fonne* is put for *fan*, how will that signification of *fan* suit with all these passages? or indeed with any one of them, unless

in

in that one we adopt a new idea of Mr. BRYANT's, that the word *oare* signifies, not an *oar*, but a *wherry*?

The DEAN of EXETER says, that *sonnes* is the same word with *fownes*, in CHAUCER'S TROILLUS, I. 466, and used in the same sense; but that "ROWLEY with a more accurate orthography (because nearer to the original substantive *fon*, and to the verb *fonden*) calls them *sonnes*." This original substantive *fon* he afterwards explains to be the same with our *fun*; which "Dr. JOHNSON (we are told) had no reason to call a *low cant word*, it being of great antiquity and established signification, as well as the verb *fonden*, which is formed from it." To this verb *fonden* [*fandian*, SAX.] (from which *fonding* quoted by ANONYMUS from CAMBDEN is derived, and which properly signifies *to try or attempt*) the DEAN has ascribed a great variety of significations, which really belong to two other verbs, *To find*; and *To sonne*, or *be foolish*. He has also confirmed the signification of *fool*, which I had attributed to the substantive *sonne* in CHAUCER; but I cannot see, that he has produced any satisfactory authority for the antiquity, or signification, of his original substantive *fon*, or *fun*. He allows, that in the first edition of SPEGHT'S Glossary the word, which he would make to be the same with *sonnes*, is written *fownes*; as it is, I believe, in the text of all the older editions of



CHAUCER'S *TROILUS*; where only, as far as I am informed, the word occurs. The DEAN has reproached me very justly for not having taken notice of this word in CHAUCER. If I had not by some accident overlooked it, I should certainly have inserted it among the WORDS AND PHRASES NOT UNDERSTOOD [vol. V. p. 285]; for I am still unable to explain it. The explanation of it to mean *devices*, by SPUGHT, seems to have been a mere conjecture, though it has been adopted by JUNIUS, and other later Lexicographers. It must appear the more dubious, because the very existence of the word, of which it pretends to be an explanation, is doubtful. The line of CHAUCER, in which only, I believe, it is to be found, is thus cited by the DEAN, from *TROILUS*, b. i. v. 466.

*Ne in desire none other fownes bred.*

But in Ms. Bodl. 3354. it is thus written :

*Nyn him desire none other fownes bredde.*

Ibid. 3444.

*No he desyred none other fode no brede.*

In a Ms. of the publick Library at Cambridge;

*Nyn him desired non other sonnes bred.*

In a Ms. of Benet College;

*Nyn him desire none other fownes bredde.*

In Ms. Harl. 3943;

*Ne in bys desire none other fantasye bredde.*

Ms. Harl. 2392 :

*Ne in his desir non other fownes bred.*

Without entering any further into the discussion of these difficulties, I will only observe, that if we allow *fownes* to be the true reading, and *devices* the true interpretation, those *devices* can only be understood to mean *devices*, or *contrivances*, of the mind, or *imagination*; and it will still remain a question, whether *fownes* was ever used to signify *devices actually executed in painting or sculpture*, which is the sense required in the first and last of these passages.

18. KNOPPED. M. 14.

Theyre myghte ys *knopped* ynne the froste of fere.

In addition to the only sense, which I had been able to discover, of *knopped*, from *knoppe*, a button, ANONYMUS would make it of the same signification with *knipped*, and Mr. BRYANT with *knapped*. The latter indeed says, "that both *knopping* and *knapping* seem to be the same as *nipping*, differently expressed;" and finally determines, that *knopped* here "signifies *diminished*, *nipped*, and *blasted*."

The DEAN of EXETER allows the derivation of *knopped* from *knoppe*, which, he says, "is used by CHAUCER for a *rose-bud*, and a *button*, both implying *concentred substances*." He therefore supposes the poet's meaning to have been, that "the animal spirits were driven to, and centered in,

the vital parts of the body, by the frost of fear.<sup>2</sup> The reader must choose for himself, which of these expositions he will adopt. I should prefer CHATTERTON's interpretation; *fastened, chained, congealed*; if it could be supported.

19. LECTURN. Le. 46.

An onlist *lecturn* and a songe adygne.

Instead of defending the use of this word, ANONYMUS is angry, "that I should single it out, on this occasion, when the whole line called for my attention." In answer, I must say, that *my purpose* was only to single out a few plain instances of unauthorised language in these Poems; such as I thought would be sufficient to call the reader's attention to the numberless barbarisms and solecisms with which they abound. The difficulties which ANONYMUS finds in explaining *onlist* and *adygne* deserve consideration; but it is enough for me, that he allows *lecturn* to signify only a *reading-desk*. The DEAN of EXETER indeed contends, that it has two significations; *the lecture itself*, and *the place where the lecture is read*. He should have proved, that it was ever used in the former signification. Mr. BRYANT has said nothing to this word.



20. LITHIE. Ep. 10.

Inne *litbie* moncke appears the barrones pride.

I had said, "If there be any such word as this, we should naturally expect it to follow the signification of *litbe*; soft, limber; which will not suit with this passage." I conceived, and still conceive, that the sense intended by the author was *humble*; but the authority of BAILEY, whom ANONYMUS quotes, or of SKINNER, whom BAILEY probably followed, is not sufficient to convince me that *litbie* was ever used in that sense. The instance, which the DEAN of EXETER has produced of *letby*, from CHAUCER'S TEST, OF LOVE, B. iii. plainly wants correction; and it might as probably be altered to *lythe* as to *litby*; but I shall not dispute that matter, as, however the word is written, it is clearly used there in the sense of *soft*.

IV. I proceed to examine the attempts which have been made to justify the words objected to under my THIRD GENERAL HEAD, as *inflected contrary to grammar and custom*. When ANONYMUS represents this head of objection as confined to *grammatical errors*, he forgets, that the irregular inflections, to which I object, are expressly stated to be contrary not only to GRAMMAR, but to CUSTOM also. They are therefore of a nature quite distinct from those inaccuracies, which (he says)

“ may be found in our best modern poets;” as these, however contrary to grammar, are generally agreeable to custom. Inflections of nouns and verbs, *contrary to custom and grammar*, I must always consider as a species of solecism, which, when frequently repeated, furnishes a reasonable ground for suspecting the genuineness of any composition. This the DEAN of EXETER does not controvert; but, in the present case, he has set up two defences (p. 496); first, “ that neither the rules of grammar, nor the law of custom, were so well established, or so generally observed in the XVth century, as to furnish a criterion for ascertaining the precise æra, when a poem was written;” and secondly, “ that, if such a criterion could be established, it is apprehended, that the words objected to in the Appendix would not come within the reach of its censure.” The latter is the point which we are now to examine (7).

(7) The Dean's first position is so loosely stated, and so little applicable to the matter in dispute, that I should have passed it over in silence, if I had not found myself called upon to take some notice of an argument *ad hominem*, by which he has been pleased to support it. To prove that the authenticity of an ancient poem is not to be determined by the strict rules of grammar, [he means, I suppose, by the author's observation or neglect of the strict rules of Grammar] he enumerates the following *grammatical errors and inaccuracies*, with which CHAUCER (he says) “ *stands charged by his learned editor*.”

1. In making a disagreement between the nominative case and the verb, by that ungrammatical phraseology—*I is a miller—Thou is a son*. (vol. iv. p. 251.)

CLEVIS. H. 2. 46.

Fierce as a *clevis* from a rocke ytorne.

I had objected to the use of *clevis* as a noun singular. ANONYMUS has proposed, with some ingenuity, to remove the objection, by reading—

“ Fierce as a *clev* is from a rocke ytorne.”

2. In putting the nominative instead of the accusative case, as—*we* for *us*. (Ibid. p. 296.)

3. In using the pronouns redundantly. (vol. iv. p. 233.)

4. It is too frequent a practice with him to omit the governing pronoun before his verbs, both personal and relative. (vol. iv. p. 216 and 277.)

5. He frequently abbreviates the third person singular of the present tense; as *bid*, *rid*, for *biddeth* and *rideth*; so that they may easily be mistaken for the past tense. (vol. iv. p. 199.)

6. He puts the participle of the past tense improperly for the infinitive mode. (Ibid. p. 222.)

7. He sometimes forms the participle of the present [i. past] tense in *en*, even in those verbs of which he also uses the participle in *ed*; as *washen*, *faren*, for *washed*, *fared*. (vol. iii. p. 317.)

I must go through all these instances severally, in order to shew that I am not so *inconsistent*, as the Dean would represent me, in believing the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer to be a genuine work, and the Poems attributed to Rowley spurious.

To take off the force of instance 1, which bears hardest upon me, it will be only necessary to cite *at length* the note, which the Dean has thought proper to abridge. I had observed, that Chaucer seemed to have given his Northern clerks [in the Miller's Tale] a Northern dialect; and among other particulars, in which their language appeared to me to differ from that used in the rest of his work, I mention the following: “ If I am not mistaken, he has *designedly* given them a vulgar, ungrammatical phraseology. *I do not remember*



But unluckily the word occurs again in the same poem, ver. 510, where the same remedy cannot be applied :

“ The thunder shafts in a torn *clevis* flie.”

remember in any other part of his writings such a line as, ver. 4043. *I is as ill a miller as is ye.* See also ver. 4084, *I is.* ver. 4087. *Thou is.*” The reader must see, that I am so far from having charged Chaucer with these grammatical inaccuracies, that I suppose him to have introduced them in this place *by design*, contrary to his practice in the rest of his works.

Instance 2 should have been quoted from vol. iii. p. 296; but here too I am obliged to vindicate myself by citing my note at length. “ Ver. 15783. And we also ] It should have been *us.* *I take notice of this, because Chaucer is very rarely guilty of such an offence against grammar.*” One must suppose, that the Dean had overlooked the latter part of this note.

Instances 3 and 4 are not to the purpose; because the use of personal pronouns redundantly, and the omission of them and relative pronouns, though offences against Grammar, were authorised by custom in the age of Chaucer.

Instance 5 is of an abbreviation commonly used by other writers. The Dean indeed has mis-stated it; for the usage was, as I have said, to put *bit* and *rit* (not *bid* and *aid*) for *biddeth* and *rideth*: and he has been pleased to add an observation, which is entirely his own, upon the inconvenience of this abbreviation, viz. that the words so abbreviated may easily be mistaken for the past tense. I always thought, that the past tenses of *bid* and *ride*, in the time of Chaucer, were *hade* and *rade*, as they are now.

Instance 6 has been spoken to already, p. 22; and Instance 7 is improperly stated as a charge of inaccuracy. It is very probable, that, in the verbs alleged, both terminations of the participle past were in use at the same time.

These are all the instances of grammatical errors, with which I am said to have charged the *Father of our English poetry*. I have shewn, I hope, that the greatest part are no charges

The DEAN of EXETER wishes to persuade us, that *clewis* might have been used as a noun *singular*. In the passage of CHAUCER (L. W. 1366), to which I had referred, he says, it may be either *singular* or *plural*. The reader shall judge:

“Hipsiphile was gone in her playing

And roming *on the clewis* by the see.”

It is surely most natural to understand the word here *plurally*, as there is not the least reason to suppose that it relates to any one particular clift. I add, that in a very good Ms. in the Bodleian Library, from which this poem of CHAUCER might be corrected in a hundred places, the word is written *clives*, in the regular plural form. The authority of the GLOSSARIST to Bishop DOUGLAS, which the DEAN quotes next, is not precise enough to be of any weight without the original passage. In the GOLDEN TARGE of DUNBAR, stan. xxvii. ver. 9, I find *clewis* used as a *plural*.

“Amangs the *clewis*.”—The DEAN concludes with an argument, which he might as well have begun with, and omitted all others. “Not that this authority is necessary for the poet’s justifica-

charges at all, and the others so few and so trifling, as not to afford the least reason for doubting the authenticity of a work of more than twenty-four thousand lines, through which they are dispersed. How very different in *number* and *quality* are those, of which the PSEUDO-ROWLEY stands convicted within the compass of less than three thousand verses?

tion:

tion: it would be sufficient to say, that the measure of his verse required the word to be lengthened into a dissyllable."

EYNE. E. II. 79. T. 169. See also Æ. 681.

In everich *eyne* aredyngne nete of wyere.

Wythe syke an *eyne* thee swotelie hymm dydd view.

That *eyne* is the plural number of *eye*, I find, is not contested; but various reasons are assigned, why the plural in these passages may stand for the singular. ANONYMUS says, that *eyne* is put for a *significant look*, in which both eyes are equally concerned, and the sense of the passages would remain the same, were the term *look* substituted for that of *eyne*!—The DEAN of EXETER has a number of expedients, as usual. He says, "that *everie eyne* may be understood collectively, as equivalent to *all eyes*;" and "that *syke an eyne* may signify *such eyes*;" but he has not attempted any proof that *everie*, or *syke an*, was ever joined with a noun plural. Or, says he, "in the latter passage, we might read *syken eyne*;" i. e. we might exchange a SOLECISM for a BARBARISM. He urges further, that the word *eye*, though *singular*, has frequently a *plural signification*, implying *both eyes*, or a *pair of eyes*; and this he proves by two quotations from GOWER; but the point to be proved was, that *eyne*, though *plural*, had a *singular signification*.



cation. To this he has only produced one passage from the TESTAMENT OF CRESEIDE, a Scottish composition, where *eyne* is used with a verb singular, *for the sake of the rime*; as it is also, *for the same reason*, in a passage of GAWIN DOUGLAS, produced by Mr. BRYANT. That our old poets often sacrificed syntax to rime cannot be disputed. But Mr. BRYANT adds [p. 411] “The following line occurs in a very ancient poem:

Nis no tonge an erthe, ne no eyen—

i. e. no tongue, nor no eye. Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ. Hickes Thesaurus, vol. i. p. 228.”

It not appearing clearly from this quotation whether *eyen* was used singularly or plurally, I had recourse to the book quoted, and there I found the whole line to stand thus:

Nis no tonge an erthe, ne non eyen *litt*.

i. e. light. Where, if *light* be not mis-written for *sight*, at least it must be joined with *eyen* in construction, like *eyen-sight*, *eyen-brow*, &c. in all which *eyen* is the *genitive case plural*. This instance therefore is not to Mr. BRYANT's purpose, any more than the preceding. His supposition “that these may have been the mistakes of the transcriber” was surely never less admissible than upon the present occasion. The most natural mistakes of a transcriber are to leave out letters, and to change uncommon words into such as are familiar to him. In this case the reverse must have

have been practised. A superfluous letter has been repeatedly inserted, and a common word has been changed into one which is obsolete.

HEIE. E. II. 15. T. 123. Le. 5. 9. Ent. 2.  
Æ. 355.

I had objected, that *heie*, the old plural of *he*, was obsolete, as I apprehended, in the time of the supposed ROWLEY. This objection nothing has been brought to invalidate. The DEAN of EXETER indeed observes, "that I *only conjecture* that this word was obsolete in the time of ROWLEY; but conjecture ought not to have the force of proof." That I allow; but surely, if my conjecture had been wrong, it would not have been difficult for him in all this time to refute it. Whenever it shall be proved, that *heie* was in use in the XVth century, my conjecture must fall to the ground. Till then, I should hope it will be admitted as at least very probable.

THYSSEN. E. II. 87.

Lette *thyssen* men who haveth sprite of love.

Mr. BRYANT, who has said nothing for *heie*, comes forward in defence of this word. He confesses "that he had some doubts about the propriety of it;"—"but he found it to be the same as the word *thesne*, which occurs in Robert of Gloucester; the same also as the term *thissne*,  
*thissum*,

*thiffum*, and *thiffon* of the Saxons. *Æfter thiffum*,  
 post hæc. *Æfter thiffon*, after these things. Bede,  
 p. 504. and Gen. ch. xlv. 15. See LYE and  
 MANNING. *Thisne laff*—this bread. *Thisne stan*—  
 this stone. *Of thysen blafe*—of this bread, Saxon  
 version of the Gospels.”

I might certainly dismiss all this learning with  
 a single observation; that a Saxon term, unsup-  
 ported by any writer later than ROBERT of GLOU-  
 CESTER, would have been as extraordinary a phe-  
 nomenon in the XVth century, as in the present;  
 but respect to Mr. BRYANT, and a just apprehen-  
 sion of the weight of his authority, oblige me to  
 enter into a minute examination of whatever argu-  
 ments he is pleased to advance. I should wish to  
 know, in the first place, how he found *thysen* to  
 be the same word as *thesne*, which occurs in RO-  
 BERT of GLOUCESTER, as he has not produced,  
 or referred to, the passage; and the Glossary,  
 which I have consulted, interprets *THESNE*, *this*,  
 in the SINGULAR number; whereas *thysen* here,  
 being joined to *men*, must be PLURAL. For the  
 same reason *thysen* cannot be the same as the  
 Saxon *thiffne* and *thysen*, in the instances quoted;  
*thifne laff*; *thifne stan*; *of thysen blafe*; they being  
 all in the SINGULAR number. In the two other  
 instances, *thiffum*, and its corruption *thiffon*, are  
 PLURAL, but give no countenance to the use of  
*thysen* in the text; *Lette thysen men*. For *thiffum*,  
 when



when PLURAL, is only used in the DATIVE or ABLATIVE case; but *thyssen* in the text, being governed of *lette* and joined to *men*, must be considered as used in the ACCUSATIVE case PLURAL, which, as far as I can find, was never expressed in the Saxon language by any other word than *thas*, the original of our *these*. The DEAN of EXETER indeed asserts, "it is observed by LYE, in his Saxon grammar prefixed to JUNIUSES ETYMOLOGICON, that the *dative* and *accusative* cases plural of the Saxon pronoun THES, *hic*, are THISUM and *poeticè* THISON." Had this been so, the only proper inference would have been, that LYE had made a mistake; but, upon looking into his grammar, I find, that he makes the *dative* and *ablative* cases plural to be *thisum*, and the ACCUSATIVE *thas*. And so does Mr. MANNING. The DEAN's appeal to the German language I pass over, as he does not even pretend to any authority there for the use of *thiesen* in the ACCUSATIVE case PLURAL; and I shall leave him in full possession of his other argument from the pronunciation of the vulgar in many parts of England. Enough has been said, I should hope, to enable the reader to judge, whether it be credible, that a word, which was originally *thas*, and has continued in our language with so little variation to the present day, was metamorphosed into *thyssen* by any writer of the XVth century.

After

After all, the DEAN seems inclined to suppose, that the termination in *en* might be added *for the sake of the rime* [rather *metre*]; "*additions or abbreviations of this kind being occasionally used by our ancient poets.*" But this is the point in dispute, which he ought not to assume. Till he proves that additions of this kind were used by our ancient poets, *there is reason to think*, that the addition of *en* in this instance *was owing to the author's ignorance concerning the propriety of such additions.*

I had pointed out two other words, COYEN, *Æ.* 125. and SOTHEN, *Æ.* 227. as terminated in the same unskilful manner in *en*, contrary to all usage or analogy. To these neither the DEAN nor ANONYMUS have said any thing; but Mr. BRYANT has undertaken the defence of *coyen*; which, he says [p. 90], is a *participle* from the verb, *To coy*. Why he says so, I know not. I will venture to say, that there are very few instances, if any, of *participles* from verbs of FRENCH original, such as *To coy* is, terminated in *en*. Of *coyen* in particular no instance is produced, except in this passage; and here it has certainly nothing *participial* in its signification. "Come and do not *coyen* be" means neither more nor less than—*Come and do not be coy*, in the most modern acceptation of the word. Whether CUYEN in *E. I.* 35. be the same word with *coyen*, I leave Mr. BRYANT to settle with the DEAN of EXETER, who, I think

more probably, considers *CUYEN* as the plural of *cu*, a *cow*; though I do not see how, upon that supposition, it could be joined with *kine*, which is the same word a little corrupted. The *qu.* which I had put after *coyen* in the Index, was not intended to express my doubt about the signification of the word, as the DEAN supposes [p. 206. n.], but about the propriety of the termination in *en*.

We are now come to what I have called "THE CAPITAL BLUNDER, which runs through all these Poems, and would alone be sufficient to destroy their credit; that is, the termination of *verbs in the singular number in n*." My three learned antagonists seem fully sensible of the decisive weight of this objection, and have therefore applied themselves to the combat of it with more than ordinary zeal and obstinacy. I had set down, or referred to, *twenty-six* instances, in which *han* is used in the Poems for the PRESENT, or PAST, time SINGULAR of the verb *have*; with this observation, that *han*, being an abbreviation of *haven*, is never used by any ancient writer except in the PRESENT time PLURAL, and the INFINITIVE MODE.

In opposition to this, ANONYMUS has produced *twelve* passages from different authors; but (what must seem very strange) not one of them is in the least to his purpose, except an old rime of nobody knows whom, in which there is this phrase; *Ich*

*han*



*han bitten this wax.* Leaving him therefore in possession of this for the present; I shall briefly go through his other instances. “WICLIFF says, We believe as Christ and his apostolus *han* taught us—the Pope and the Cardynals by false laws that they *han* made.” These examples, says ANONYMUS, are contrary to the rule. Not at all; for in both *han* is the PRESENT time PLURAL. “VERSTEGAN says, *han* was anciently used for *have*; and to this day they say in some parts of England, *han* you any? for, *have* you any?” This too is agreeable to the rule; for, I suppose, nobody but ANONYMUS will dispute, that *you* and *ye*, however applied to a single person, are pronouns plural. In the first of the following instances from CHAUCER—“She wende never *han* come”—*han* is the INFINITIVE MODE. In the *three* next—“Ye *han* herde”—“Ye *han* taken—and *han* denied”—it is the PRESENT time PLURAL, as before in the instance from VERSTEGAN. “On the very same page, says ANONYMUS, *han* is used for *bad*: Our Lorde God of Heven ne wolde, neyther *han* wrought hem.” But he is mistaken. *Han* is there the INFINITIVE MODE. The construction is: Our Lord, &c. *would not neither have made them.* In his remaining *three* instances—“The birdes that *han* left”—“Whyle they *han* suffered”—“Justyne and his brother *han* take”—*han* is the PRE-

SENT time PLURAL, agreeable to the rule. And so much for ANONYMUS.

Mr. BRYANT allows, that *han* or *hane* in the singular number is contrary to the common usage of the times; and he allows, that it occurs *sometimes* in that manner in the Poems. This he would impute, as usual, to the fault of the transcriber, or to a provincial way of speaking; but at last he comes to the point, and says, that “after all, there is authority for the usage of this word in the singular, by which the reading in ROWLEY may be countenanced.” He then produces *five* examples. *Three* are from an ancient book called the *Pylgrimage of the Soule*, printed by CAXTON, with his customary incorrectness. The first—*He that hane suffered*—I find upon inspection to be misquoted for—*Ye that hane suffered*. This therefore is not to his purpose. To the *two* others I answer, once for all, that *u* and *n* are so frequently confounded at the press, that I consider all appeals to printed books, of which no Mss. exist, as nugatory, and calculated rather to perplex than to decide the question. If our object is truth, why should we depart from those works of CHAUCER, GOWER, OCCLEVE, and LYDGATE, of which the readings may be established from authentic Mss. to collect perhaps the mistakes of ignorant copyists, or the blunders of negligent printers? It would also surely much conduce to the shorten-

ing of these discussions, if, besides confining our citations to witnesses of the best credit, we were careful to cite them for nothing, but what they have really said, and is apposite to the point in dispute. In Mr. BRYANT's *fourth* example from PIERCE PLOWMAN, p. 81. l. 24. what he cites as *hane*, is *have* in my copy; and in his *fifth* example from OCCLEVE, as quoted by Mr. WARTON, vol. ii. p. 43,

“Of which I wont was *han* counsel and rede,”  
*han* is the INFINITIVE MODE, and is used quite regularly. To Mr. BRYANT's assertion, that “in ROBERT of GLOUCESTER and ROBERT BRUNNE, the terms *han* and *hane* occur for *had* and *have*,” I can say nothing, till the passages are produced. I cannot find in either of the Glossaries, that *han*, or *hane*, is ever interpreted *had*. It is indeed interpreted *have* in both; but that proves nothing; for *han*, when used regularly in the PRESENT time PLURAL or the INFINITIVE MODE, is properly interpreted *have*. Mr. BRYANT should have shewn, that *han* is used, by either of these writers, in the PRESENT and PAST times SINGULAR, as it is in the Poems.

The DEAN of EXETER has been very sparing of instances in support of *han*, used *singularly*. He has produced, I think, only *three*; two from the Prologue to CHAUCER's TESTAMENT OF LOVE, and a third from the TESTAMENT itself at large,



without referring to page or leaf. This last he might reasonably suppose, we should in any case rather admit than attempt to verify; but indeed I except, for the reasons already assigned, to all instances which are taken from the TESTAMENT OF LOVE, or any other books, of which printed copies only are extant. His final argument to this point is, that "in fact *han* is used in these Poems as a contraction of the *past* tense *had*, and not of the *present* tense *haver*;" as if that mended the matter, or as if my objection had not originally been, that it was used for the *present*, or PAST, time *singular*. The latter use of it would be, if possible, less justifiable than the former. It certainly is not in the least countenanced by the quotation from CHAUCER'S R. R. 71.

But if the DEAN has been sparing of his exertions in defence of the word *han*, he seems to have put forth all his strength to prove (in contradiction to my general objection) "that the termination of verbs in the *singular* number in *n* was not unusual;" and (as a work of supererogation) "that the ancient authors appear to have made an arbitrary use of the *en* final, annexing it to almost every species of words into which speech has been, or can be, distinguished." To this last point I shall speak presently. With respect to the former, with which I am more immediately concerned, I must observe that Mr. BRYANT, by his silence, has left my

my objection in full force; and that ANONYMUS seems rather inclined to evade than to combat it. Thus, in my two first instances of *fellen*, E. 1. 10. and H. 2. 675. he would, by a very forced and unnatural construction, make *fellen* a participle; but he forgets, that the participle of *fall* is *fallen*. In the next instance, p. 287. ver. 17. he proposes, with some ingenuity, to change *I gotten* into *ygotten*, a participle. But the construction of *got-ten*, as a verb, is very plain, though he is puzzled about it. *For thee I gotten*—means—*For I got thee*. To my other instances of *souten*, H. 1. 252. *shooken*, H. 2. 349. *shoulden*, H. 2. 344. *thoug-tenne*, E. 172. and *thoughten*, E. 1136. Ch. 54. *shewen*, Ch. 54. he has not offered any opposition or subterfuge. He says indeed, that “he has a number of examples, taken from the XIVth and XVth centuries, of verbs plural used in the singular number, and of verbs plural used instead of participles;” (to what purpose are the latter?) but he has produced only a misprint of CHAUCER (corrected in the last edition, C. T. ver. 9135), and a single passage of WICKLIFF, where *comen* is put for *come*; by a mistake, as it should seem, of the transcriber, whose eye was caught by the same word occurring in the next line. *Forgetten* was the old participle of *forget*, in its first stage of variation from the regular past tense *forgot-  
getted*.

I am now to examine the instances which the DEAN has collected of *verbs singular* terminated in *u*. They are in all, I think, *twenty-nine*. Of these *five* are taken from the TESTAMENT OF LOVE, and are therefore liable to the exception above stated, in the case of *ham*. Seven are taken from the COURT OF LOVE, one from the translation of BOETHIUS, and another from the PLOWMAN'S TALE; three books, of which the text is as unsettled as that of the TESTAMENT OF LOVE. Six more are taken from the CANTERBURY TALES, of Speght's edition, 1602; though every one of them has been corrected from Mss. in the late editions. If the DEAN has any objections to make to the authority of the Mss. which I consulted, or to the use which I have made of them, I shall always be glad to hear him; but in the mean time I cannot think it very polite to me, or very fair to his readers, to quote Speght's edition in contradiction to mine. Of the remaining *nine* instances, the first is quoted from ADAM DAVIE, by a mistaken reference to WARRON, vol. I. p. 22. which I shall not attempt to verify, as all the works of ADAM DAVIE, that I have seen, are in too incorrect a state to furnish any authority for language. The second is from GOWER, p. 73. b. "Thou *wilt*en [a querele of truth]." —

But here the misprint is so obvious, that I had actually corrected it in my copy to—Thou *wilt*



IN a q.—and two Mss. which I have inspected since, have it—Thou WOLT IN. The third is from GOWER, p. 67. b.

“The *harm* that *fallen*.”

But in my copy, edit. 1532. to which the reference agrees, it is—“The *HARMES*—that *fallen*.”

The fourth quotation from GOWER, p. 73. b. v. 32. does not appear in that place; but I have found it in fol. 107. b. When the DEAN can make any sense of it, I will allow its authority.

The fifth quotation from LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCE, in Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1602. p. 242. a. col. 1.

“From *him* that *felen* no fore nor sicknesse”—is printed in my copy of that same edition thus:

“From *HEM* that *felen* &c.” In the sixth quotation from the CUCKOW AND NIGHTINGALE,

p. 317. b. col. 2. *besoughten* may be properly corrected from the Bodleian Mss. to *besoughte*; and so

may *shoulde* in the eighth quotation, upon the same authority, to *shoulde*.

The only two quotations, which remain to be considered, are from the HOUSE OF FAME. The latter—*byghen*—I had

set down among *the words and phrases not understood*; but any one may see, that it is *not* a verb, and therefore not to the DEAN's purpose. The

other—*couden*, H. F. 111. 724. is a mere misprint.

The line is written rightly in Ms. Bodl.

That any herte *couth*e gesse.

Having

Having thus shewn upon what very slight grounds the DEAN has attempted to establish the propriety of terminating verbs in the *singular* number in *n*, I must take a little notice of that most extraordinary assertion, with which he concludes his argumentation upon this point. He asserts [p. 505], "that, in fact, the ancient authors appear to have made an arbitrary use of the *en* final, annexing it to almost every species of words, into which speech has been or can be distinguished." Such an assertion ought surely to have been better supported than by a string of words, without reference to the places where they are to be found. But let us take them as he has been pleased to give them. The case of VERBS has just been considered; to which the DEAN now adds another quotation from his best authority, THE TESTAMENT OF LOVE. Of NOUNS singular as well as plural, which have received this arbitrary addition, his instances are, "*Greecen* for Greece, *Iolen* for Iole, *soleyn* for sole; *himselven*, *hinselven*, and *theirselves*, in almost every page of Gower and Chaucer." That proper names of persons and places were strangely disfigured by our ancient writers cannot be disputed; and therefore I can believe, that *Greecen* and *Iolen* may have been used, though I should wish to have been told where, and by whom. *Soleyn* is a regular adjective, used by CHAUCER in the sense of *single*, and *fullen* [GLOSS.

C. T, in v.] Whether it came to us from an obsolete FR. adj. *seulein*, or from the ITAL. *solingo*, there is no pretence for considering the final *n* as having been added arbitrarily. *Himselfen* and *Hirselven* are perfectly regular. The arbitrariness of our authors has been shewn in throwing away the final *n*, and changing them into *himself* and *herself*. *Theirselven* is a barbarism, of which I believe the DEAN would be puzzled to produce a single instance from either CHAUCER or GOWER. To his ADJECTIVES, *bothin* and *famin*, I will speak whenever he produces the passages in which they are used; but I am really surprised that he should state such words as *outin*, *aboven*, *abouten*, *aforeyne*, *atwixen*, *besiden*, *sithen*, as instances of ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, and CONJUNCTIONS, to which the final *n* has been arbitrarily annexed. He must know, that the case has been directly the reverse. He must know that the Saxon originals of these words all terminated in *n*; that they retained the same termination in the English language for several centuries; that they lost it gradually, some sooner, some later; and that, while they continued to be used indifferently with it or without it, the arbitrariness of writers (as has been said before) was rather exerted to suppress it than to annex it. In all such instances therefore, in order to determine which is the regular and which the licentious usage, we must have recourse to the original word.



word. In our own language, and, I believe, in most others, the presumption is always strong that the variation has been made by the rejection, rather than by the addition, of a final consonant; and it is remarkable, that the SAXON ADVERBS &c. just mentioned, which originally terminated in *n*, from the time that they had intirely lost that termination, have never resumed it. But in the case of *ban*, and other VERBS SINGULAR terminated in *n*, (to which all this argumentation of the DEAN is meant to be applied,) if we believe the Poems to be genuine, we must suppose, that the author in the XVth century *arbitrarily annexed* a final *n* to a species of words, which neither in the original Saxon, nor in the derivative English, at any period from the time of HENGIST to the present, ever had any such termination. The supposition is absolutely incredible; and therefore we must necessarily recur to the contrary supposition, that the Poems are NOT GENUINE. When the DEAN denies, that this anomaly can be made a *sufficient criterion* of ANTIQUITY, he misapprehends the tendency of my argument. I never thought of making a practice, which I believe to be quite singular and unexampled in any age, a *criterion* of the greater or less ANTIQUITY of the writer. It is, I think, a *criterion* of his IGNORANCE; such an ignorance as is inconceivable in a genuine author, but might very easily fall to the share of an impostor.

P A R T

## PART THE SECOND.

HAVING thus replied (I trust, satisfactorily) to the several answers, which have been given by my three learned antagonists to those objections, stated in the *former* part of my APPENDIX, which tended to prove, from the *internal evidence* of the LANGUAGE only, that these Poems were NOT WRITTEN IN THE XVth CENTURY, I should regularly proceed to the vindication of the *latter* part, in which I endeavoured to prove, from the same *internal evidence*, that they were WRITTEN BY THOMAS CHATTERTON. But as the reasons, which originally induced me to treat these two questions separately, still subsist, I shall defer whatever I may have to say upon the second, till I have completely dispatched the first. When the reader shall have attained a clear and steady conviction, that the Poems are not of the antiquity to which they pretend, and are consequently a FORGERY, he will find himself much better prepared to form a decisive opinion, AT WHAT TIME and BY WHOM they were FORGED.

I shall therefore in this place insert some observations upon the *other parts* of the *internal evidence*, which, I think, will corroborate the proof already

already given, that the Poems attributed to ROWLEY were not written in the XVth century; and I shall also examine the whole of the *external evidence*, which has hitherto been produced in support of their authenticity.

I. Next to the consideration of WORDS, taken *singly*, with respect to their significations and inflexions (which has been the subject of our former enquiry), we should naturally proceed to consider them as combined one with another in what are called PHRASES. However difficult it may be to determine with precision, when two or more words were first combined together, and applied in a particular sense, there can be no doubt that many such combinations prevail and are familiar in one age, which in a former were entirely unknown. It is impossible to read a page of the Poems, without observing a number of phrases, which, when divested of their hard words and uncouth spelling, are plainly modern, and of which no examples can be produced from any writer of the XVth century. I forbear to quote particular instances. The fact has been sufficiently evinced by various passages of modern authors, which even the advocates for ROWLEY have allowed to be coincidences of thought and expression. They would be puzzled to find a small proportion of such coincidences in all his supposed contemporaries.



One set of PHRASES, which is very frequently used in the Poems, is formed upon an idea, which, I am persuaded, did not exist in the time of the supposed ROWLEY. I observed in my *Essay on the Language* &c. of CHAUCER [vol. IV. p. 36], that HE WAS NOT acquainted with "the metaphysical substantive *self*, of which our more modern philosophers and poets have made so much use." But ROWLEY plays with this idea through all its changes.

St. C. 134.

Hys dame, hys seconde *selfe*, gyve uppe her brethes.

Æ. 286. Yette I wylle bee *mieselfe*.

299. Yett I muste bee *mieself*.

368. Thie mynde ys now *thieselfe*.

386. I'm flyynge from *mieselfe* yn flying thee.

551. I Hurra amme *miesel* and aie wylle bee.

G. 140. Theyre volundes are ystorven to *self endes*.

This last phrase, like *self-love*, *self-interest*, &c. is evidently formed upon a *substantive* signification of *self*, of which I have never been able to find any traces in our language before the XVIth century, when it probably was first introduced, to express the power of the Greek *αυτο* in composition.

There is another PHRASE, so contrary to all usage and analogy, that, I apprehend, it could never have been coined by any writer, except for  
the

the purpose of departing from the established mode of expression. What I mean is the use of *did be* for *was* or *were*, in the following passages:

Æ. 966. Albeytte unwears dyd the welkynn rende,  
Reyne, alycke fallynge ryvers, *dyd ferse bee*.

1104. Whanne you, as caytyned, yn fiede *dyd bee*.

Such a combination of *do*, as an *auxiliary* verb, with the verb *be*, I believe to be quite unexampled in any age; and therefore perhaps it is not so properly produced here, to shew that the Poems were not written in the XVth century, as it may be urged hereafter, to prove that the author of them was an unskilful imitator of ancient language. But the argument may fairly be applied to both questions. See before, p. 76.

II. Another circumstance, which calls for our attention, is the profusion of FIGURES in these Poems. There can be scarce any writing without METAPHORS; but SIMILIES are very thinly scattered in our really ancient authors, and what they have are generally short and confined to a single point of resemblance. I much doubt whether an instance can be produced, from any poet older than SPENSER, of a simile so extended, so variegated, so turned and rounded, as many of those which occur in the Poems; though it is notorious that the art of simile-making has been so improved of late years, that boys and girls can decorate

rate their comparisons with all the graces of POPE and DRYDEN. In like manner PERSONIFICATIONS are not unfrequent in our oldest poets; but in which of them can we find a groupe of such imaginary persons acting together in one consistent ALLEGORY [T. v. 161], and set forth with that exuberant pomp of diction, which has not till very lately been introduced even into our Lyric poetry? In what old poet can we find such a personage as FREEDOM, political FREEDOM? [G. v. 184] One may venture to say, that the idea of LIBERTY, *the Goddess heavenly bright*, was as unknown in this country in the XVth century, as it is perhaps at this day in Turkey. Where can we find such a CLIMAX, as [Ælla, v. 16]

“It cannot, must not, nay, it shall not be”? or such EXCLAMATIONS and INTERROGATORIES (mere tricks of modern play-wrights) as are in almost every scene of the ÆLLA? It may be said perhaps, that, as we have no other tragedy of those times, it is not surprising, that we should not be able to meet with any other examples of a style peculiarly suited to theatrical exhibitions; but surely it must be allowed to be exceedingly improbable, that the author of our first drama should at once hit upon those little artifices of composition, which were lost again with him, and never (if I may use the expression) re-invented, till a long course of practice had taught our actors,



and through them our authors, the easiest methods of entrapping an audience.

III. From the LANGUAGE, I might go on to examine the VERSIFICATION of these Poems; but I think it sufficient to refer the reader, who may have any doubts upon this point, to the specimens of really ancient poetry, with which the verses of the pretended ROWLEY have lately been very judiciously contrasted (8). Whoever reads those specimens, if he has an ear, must be convinced, that the authors of them and of the Poems did not live within the same period. Mr. BRYANT indeed (p. 426) has taken some pains to make us believe, that "the arguments founded on the rythm and harmony of the verses are very precarious;" and they must be allowed to be so, when they are drawn from small detached portions; a few lines, or even stanzas; and from the compositions of writers who lived very near to each other; but I apprehend he might be safely challenged, either to produce three thousand lines written within the last hundred years in the ordinary versification of the XVth century; or (what would be still more to his purpose) to shew us an equal number of lines, written in the XVth century, with that exactness of metre and accent which has been so

(8) In a pamphlet, intituled, CURSORY OBSERVATIONS on the Poems attributed to THOMAS ROWLEY, &c.

common of late, and appears in a remarkable degree in the Poems.

The comparisons, by which Mr. BRYANT has attempted to prove the precariousness of our judgements on this subject, are most of them, in my opinion, inapplicable to his purpose. The first instance (p. 427) from *Virgil's Gnat*, by SPENSER, proves only, that some lines may be less harmonious than others in the same Poem. The first line indeed of the stanza, as quoted by Mr. BRYANT,

“There be two stout sons of Æacus;”—  
is evidently defective in its metre; but the syllable wanting may be supplied from the editions;

“There be ~~the~~ two stout sons of Æacus;”—  
and when that is done (and some other little inaccuracies in the quotation corrected), I see no ground for supposing, from the *language* or *versification* of the stanza, that it was not the work of the same writer who composed the other samples; much less, that there was *a century and an half* (of years, or even of hours) between them.

In the second instance [p. 429], Mr. BRYANT has contrasted (as he calls it) some verses of SPENSER with some others of Sir JOHN CHEKE, written in 1553, and of Sir HENRY LEA in 1591, with a view of shewing, that both those compositions, *from their smoothness, rhythm, and language,*

should be deemed of a posterior age to that of SPENSER. And I must confess, that, if our judgments were necessarily to be formed upon the specimens produced by Mr. BRYANT, there would be some ground for agreeing with him in his conclusion. But from what work of SPENSER does the reader imagine that Mr. BRYANT has selected the specimen, from which we are to determine the character and age of the Poet? Not from the Poem just cited of *Virgil's Gnat*; or from the *Faery Queene*; or from any other of the numerous compositions which he has left us in the regular hetoic metre; but from the *second* of his PASTORALS, in which, besides the studied affectation of obsolete language which runs through all the Pastorals, he has DESIGNEDLY made the *metre* rough and halting, by curtailing each verse, in one part or other, of a syllable. By this mode of contrast, not only Sir JOHN CHEKE, but CHAUCER himself, might be made to appear a smooother and more improved versifier than SPENSER.

The contrast, which Mr. BRYANT has formed between the two Scottish poets, BLIND HARRY and Bp. DOUGLAS [p. 433], is liable to similar and equal objections. Allowing BLIND HARRY to have been the older writer, "it is evident," (says the learned editor of *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p. 272) "that his work, however antiquated it may now appear, has been much altered and amended."

Such



Such a work must surely be a very exceptionable authority for language. But in respect of versification, the contrast is still more improper. The verses of BLIND HARRY, which, though mean and hobbling enough, are in the regular heroic metre, are compared, not with the Bishop's translation of the *Æneis*, which is also in the regular heroic metre, but with his *Prologue to the eighth book*, which is a sort of *Ballad*, written in stanzas of thirteen lines each; of which the nine first are in an irregular, imperfect rhythm, most resembling that of *PIERCE PLOWMAN*, with the addition of rhyme. Mr. BRYANT has cited the nine first lines only of one of these stanzas; but to give a clearer idea of the nature of the composition which he has chosen to contrast with BLIND HARRY's heroic verses, I shall take leave to add here the four concluding lines of the stanza, repeating the two last of the lines cited by Mr. BRYANT, for the sake of rendering the example more perspicuous.

Sche wyl not wyrk thocht sche want, bot waistis  
hir tyme

In thigging, as it thryft war, and uttir vane  
thewis,

And slepis quhen sche fuld spyn,

With na wyl the world to wyn,

This cuntre is ful of Caynes kyn,

And syc schire schrewis.

The only PROPER instance (9) for comparison, which Mr. BRYANT has produced, consists of about

(9) I cannot however impute Mr. BRYANT's choice of the other instances to any unfairness, as, in his next section (p. 441), he has quoted at length more than sixty lines from *PIERCE PLOWMAN*, in which (he says, p. 443) "we may observe, that the rythm is as just, and the lines flow as smoothly, as any where in ROWLEY."

I have stated my notion of the versification of *PIERCE PLOWMAN* in another place [*Essay on the language, &c. of CHAUCER*, n. 57]; and Mr. BRYANT himself allows (p. 440), that "his lines are often extended to fifteen syllables: but generally are fewer; and the metre is a kind of imperfect anapaestic measure." It should seem, that Mr. BRYANT must have a peculiar taste or system of versification, if he really thinks that such lines as these, in which the number of syllables is indeterminate, and the accents irregularly disposed, can be compared to the verses of ROWLEY for smoothness of flow and justness of rythm. When he goes on to assert (p. 446), that, in these extracts,—"the true accent is generally preserved upon the terminating syllable," I am still less able to follow him, as, according to my notion, half the lines, which he has quoted, have no accent upon their terminating syllable. I will set down a few here, as he has quoted them, that the reader may see how smoothly they flow, and how well the accent is preserved upon the terminating syllable:

"And cry we to kind, that he come and defend us:  
And cry we to all the commune, that they come to unite,  
And there abyde and biker against Belial's children,  
Kind conscience this heard, and came out of the planettes,  
And sent forth his forriours, fevers and fluxes,  
Coughes and cardiacles, crampes and toth-aches;  
Reumes and radgondes, and raynous scalles,  
Byles and botches, and burnynge agues."

I am as much at a loss to guess upon what principles Mr. BRYANT has formed his judgement, when he contends (p. 450), that ROWLEY might have had better patterns of  
verfi-

forty lines, extracted from certain hymns in the PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOULE, printed by CAXTON in 1483, which, Mr. BRYANT tells us [p. 438], "are written in the same kind of stanza as the *Elinoure and Juga* of ROWLEY, and the *Excellente Ballade of Charite*;" and I have no sort of objection to let the whole controversy be determined by the similitude, or dissimilitude, which those forty lines shall be judged to have to the same number of lines taken from any part of those two poems. I must observe however, that, when Mr. BRYANT states these stanzas to be of *the same kind*, he for-

verification to follow than LYDGATE, GOWER, and CHAUCER. I cannot see, that his Extracts from ROBERT of GLOUCESTER, or from the *anonymous rimers* quoted by Mr. WARTON, or even from the Romance of the *Squire of low degree*, exhibit any such patterns. By the way, I must observe, that the antiquity ascribed by Mr. BRYANT to the *Squire of low degree*, though countenanced by Mr. WARTON [Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 175], is very disputable. The only foundation for it, I apprehend, is a notion, that CHAUCER has alluded to this romance in his *Rime of Sir Topas*; and for proof of this notion Mr. WARTON has referred us to his *Observations on Spenser*, vol. i. p. 139. But the note of an ingenious correspondent, to which, I suppose, he refers, says only, I think, that the *Squier of lowe degree* has impertinent digressions, similar to those ridiculed by CHAUCER; not that the *Squier of lowe degree* was itself the object of CHAUCER's ridicule. Mr. WARTON informs us, that he had never seen any manuscript of this romance; and, for my own part, I am much inclined to suspect, that, instead of being older than CHAUCER, it was not written many years before it was printed.



gets that the supposed ROWLEY closes his with an ALEXANDRINE verse; a most material peculiarity, of which I know no example earlier than SPENSER. The same peculiarity may therefore be reasonably urged as a very suspicious circumstance in the stanza of ten lines, in which the TRAGEDY of ÆLLA and several other poems are written; and moreover, that such a stanza (as has been remarked in *Cursory Observations*, &c. p. 15) was probably first used by PRIOR. He has told us himself, that he formed it by adding one verse to the stanza of SPENSER [Pref. to Ode on the Success of Her Majesty's arms in 1706]. Mr. BRYANT's notion, that this stanza of ten lines was called *Rythme Royal* by GASCOIGNE, is founded upon a misprint in Mr. WARTON's History of English Poetry [vol. ii. p. 165, note]. GASCOIGNE says expressly, that "in Rythme Royal seven verses make a staffe." The DEAN of EXETER has quoted GASCOIGNE truly; and yet (most unaccountably) would rank stanzas of eight, nine, and ten verses under the title of Rythme Royal [Prelim. Diff. p. 31]. In the stanza of ten lines from a ballad attributed to CHAUCER [Ed. Urr. p. 538], the *rimes* (as the DEAN has observed) are differently disposed from those in the ÆLLA; and there is no ALEXANDRINE verse.

It has been already objected (as I understand from the DEAN of EXETER, p. 381) to the METRE  
of

of the *Songe to Ælla*, “ that the Pindaric, or (to speak more properly) irregular measure, was unknown, or at least not revived, in Rowley’s time;” and I do not see that he has attempted to controvert the fact. This therefore may be considered as another of those metrical inventions, which were buried with the author in his iron chest, and consequently lost to posterity, till they were re-invented in a much later age. The last of these, of which I shall take any notice, and certainly not the least, is **BLANK-VERSE**, of which we have two or three short specimens in the **TRAGEDY** of **ÆLLA**; though it has hitherto been a received notion, that blank-verse was first invented in Italy in the beginning of the **XVIth** century, and first practised in England by the Earl of Surrey.

If the **DEAN** of **EXETER** was aware of this objection, he has attempted, not unably, to draw off the reader’s attention from it, by the following note on the first of these passages, **Æ. v. 551**. “ This is one of the very few *irregular stanzas* which occur in these poems; one line is wanting, and the whole stanza deficient in rime. That beginning at line 571 is also deficient in both respects.” I shall take the liberty to set down at length both these *stanzas*, as the **DEAN** calls them. The first begins at v. 552.

MES-

MESSENGERR.

Blynne your contekions, chiefs; for as I stode  
Uponne mie watche, I spiede an armie commynge,  
Notte lyche ann handfulle of a fremded foe,  
Botte blacke wythe armoure, movynge ugsomlie,  
Lyke a blacke fulle cloude, thatte dothe goe alonge  
To droppe yn hayle, and hele the thonder storme.

MAGNUS.

Ar there meynthe of them?

MESSENGERR.

Thycke as the ante-flyes ynne a sommer's none,  
Seeming as tho' theie styng as perfante too.

The second, beginning at v. 571.

SECOND MESSENGERR.

As from mie towre I kende the commynge foe,  
I spied the crossed shielde and bloddie swerde,  
The furious Ælla's banner; wythynne kenne  
The armie ys. Dyforder throughe oure hoaste  
Is fleyng, borne onne wynges of Ælla's name;  
Styr, styr, mie lordes!

If these were intended for *stanzas in rime*, they must be allowed to be very irregular and deficient indeed! but, instead of imputing such gross negligence, or incapacity, to the author of ÆLLA, I am surprised that the DEAN did not rather urge these two passages, as proofs, that HIS POET was

not



not only the inventor of Tragedy among us, but also of the metre in which Tragedy should be written, though, for some reason or other, he has thought proper to write the greatest part of his own in stanzas.

IV. That a genius, who was capable of making all these improvements in LANGUAGE and VERSIFICATION, should also invent new FORMS of COMPOSITION, unknown to his predecessors and contemporaries, is quite natural. Accordingly we find, among these Poems, ODES in irregular metres, ECLOGUES of the Pastoral kind, and DISCORSING TRAGEDIES, compositions, for not one of which any example could be found in England in the XVth century. Even in those compositions, of which the species was not entirely unknown, it is impossible not to observe a striking difference from the other compositions of that age, with respect to the *manner* in which they are constructed, and the *subjects* to which they are applied. Instead of tedious chronicles we have here interesting portions of history, selected and embellished with all the graces of epic poetry; instead of devotional hymns, legendary tales, and moralizations of Scripture, we have elegant little poems upon *charitie* and *happineffe*, a *new church*, a *living worthy*, and other occurrences of the moment; no translations from the French, no allusions to the popular authors of the middle

ages;

ages: nothing, in short, of what we see in so many other writers about that time. If ROWLEY really lived and wrote these Poems in the XVth century, he must have stalked about, like TIRESIAS among the *Homeric ghosts*,

"He only wise, the rest mere fleeting shades."

V. In answer to these last observations, I am well aware it may be said (it has been said), "that the powers of genius and poetry are not confined to one period or country;" "that poets will arise in every age far excelling the rest of their contemporaries;" "that, if learning was little cultivated in any age, we must not infer that it did not at all exist;" "that JOSEPHUS ISCANUS was once as pre-eminent as ROWLEY (10);" with other

(10) This last argument is used by Mr. BRYANT, p. 444. and by the DEAN of EXETER, Prel. Diss. p. 25. but I rather wonder, that these two learned persons should not have seen how little it is to their purpose. In the first place, no one, who has looked into the *Alexandrais* of GUALTERUS CASTELLIONENSIS, the *Ligurinus* of GENTHER, &c. &c. &c. will contend, that the pre-eminence of JOSEPHUS ISCANUS over them is in any degree approaching to that of the supposed ROWLEY over his contemporaries. And, secondly, the excellence of JOSEPHUS ISCANUS (how great soever it may be esteemed) amounts only to this, that he was more successful than others of his time in copying the finished models of Latin poetry, which he had before his eyes. But the supposed ROWLEY, without any such models of English poetry, must be allowed not only to have surpassed all his contemporaries, but also to have anticipated the inventions and improvements of his successors for several subsequent ages.

argu-

arguments of the same force; all which, if admitted, would only prove that extraordinary things have *sometimes* happened, and that *improbabilities* are not always *impossibilities*. For my own part, I cannot help thinking, that, when the several points of internal evidence, which have been just stated, are collected together and considered in one view, the *improbability*, that any one person in the XVth century should have anticipated, in so many instances, the modes of EXPRESSION, the VERSIFICATION, and FORMS OF COMPOSITION of the two or three following centuries, must be deemed to fall very little short of an *impossibility*. But, as I am very sensible that the proofs of this nature may not operate with the same degree of force upon all minds, I go on to the last and most cogent species of evidence, viz. ANACHRONISMS and CONTRADICTIONS TO HISTORY, which make it absolutely *impossible* that these Poems should have been written by a genuine ROWLEY in the XVth century.

Under this head I do not mean to take notice of such departures from historical truth as have usually been pardoned in all poets. Even blunders of the greatest magnitude, in the compositions of an ignorant or careless writer, do not impeach their authenticity. Though HECTOR, in TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, be made to quote ARISTOTLE, our belief in SHAKESPEARE'S authorship

is



is not staggered. Had he quoted Mr. LOCKE, the case would have been very different.

I shall therefore confine my observations to a few matters, which are mentioned in the Poems, though the supposed writer could not possibly have been acquainted with them; and to some others, which are there falsified, though he must necessarily have had the most perfect knowledge of them.

In the first class may be reckoned the *knitting of white hosen*, in *ÆLLA*, ver. 210. (11); the *borse-millanare*, in Bal. of CHARITIE, ver. 56. (12);

(11) The Dean's quotation from Palsgrave's *Eclaircissement de la langue Francoise*, printed in 1530, is a strong proof, that, even then, the modern practice of knitting stockings, with wires or needles, was not known in England. He renders—*I knitt bonnets or hosen—Je tasse*. The Dean himself is so sensible of this, that he wishes to persuade us, that the sense of the passage "is not necessarily confined to the present mode of knitting stockings; for it might only imply lacing, agreeably to the French explanation of Palsgrave." But the phrase in ver. 230, "*She putte uppe her knyttyng*"—shews plainly what sort of knitting the author had in view.

(12) It will not be denied, I fancy, that the trade of a *borse-milanner* must have been of a later date in this country than that of a simple *millener*. The natives of Milan are called *Mileners* in Rot. Parl. 22 E. IV. n. 9, but there is not the least ground for supposing that any of them had set up a trade here, denominated from themselves, at that time. As to the modern term of *borse-millener*, I apprehend that the Dean need not have travelled to Norwich in quest of it. I have been credibly informed, that he might have seen it, not many years ago, in large letters in at least one street of Bristol.

and,

and, I think, the personage of *Political Freedom*, in GODWIN, ver. 184. See before, p. 81.

In the second class, one of the most striking has been pointed out by the deceased author of *OBSERVATIONS*, &c. "In the *Gouler's Requiem*, the *mark* is spoken of as a *gold coin*, which was no coin at all, but only a sum in accounts, as the present pound is; and the *noble* is mentioned as a *silver coin*, which was a gold one." "These mistakes," he observes, "could not come from one so conversant in the coins of his own time as Canynge, the supposed author of this little piece;" and therefore he imputes them to Chatterton, of whose temerity in altering his originals he thinks this a notable instance; "for to what bounds (says he, very gravely) will he confine himself, who, in an affair of money, is not afraid to correct one who in his time was a principal merchant in Bristol (13)!"

(13) It is curious to see how the Dean of Exeter has attempted to slur over this gross inconsistency, in his note on ver. 2, of the *Gouler's Requiem*, p. 449. "Canning (says he) does not speak of the *mark* and *noble* in the strict language of the mint: the former was a nummular estimate, its value two thirds of a pound: the latter a gold coin, half the value of the mark; but they were the common names by which sums were then computed." Did the Dean ever see a sum of any magnitude computed in nobles?—Again: "The mark and the noble being considered here as money of account, rather than as species of coin," [the fact is the reverse; for they are both considered here as *species of coin*, though one of them very improperly;] "the larger denomination is given to the gold, and

In the same class we need not scruple to rank the introduction of three saints, St. WARREBURGUS, St. BALDWIN, and St. GODWIN (14); of any one of whom not the least trace is to be found in

and the smaller to the silver." By the same logic a modern poet might be justified in talking of *golden pounds* and *silver half-guineas*. The *pound* and the *half-guinea* being considered as money of account, &c.

(14) St. WARREBURGHUS is mentioned with great respect in the *Storie of William Canynge*, ver. 31. He also makes a principal figure with St. BALDWIN, in the *Account of the Ceremonies observed at the opening of the Old Bridge*, which (the Dean tells us, p. 433) "was the first of Rowley's Papers communicated to the public by Chatterton," and the Dean has lately favoured us with two hymns composed by Rowley in honour of these two saints, p. 433—5. It appears too, from the Dean's note, *ibid.* that several transactions of St. Wareburgus are recorded in the Mf. history of Bristol, amongst Rowley's Papers, ascribed to Turgot. And yet, notwithstanding all these testimonies, the Dean does not scruple to declare, with a sort of good-humoured sneer at his friend Rowley, that "his favourite saint Warburghus is truly apocryphal; nor is his name to be found in any of our English legends, which speak only of the female saint Werburga." A little lower, p. 436, he treats saint BALDWIN with as little ceremony. "This saint, and his history (says the Dean), like that of saint Warburgh, is totally unnoticed by our writers, and not at all explained by the song." He adds, however, that "some countenance is given to this legend by Baldwin's Cross, which formerly stood in the city of Bristol, and a street which is still called by that name;" but neither of these circumstances, I apprehend, will be received at present as a proof of St. Baldwin's canonization.

With regard to St. GODWIN, the Dean has declared with the same frankness, in his note on the *Balade of Charitie*, ver. 16, that "the situation of St. Godwin's Abbey is amongst Rowley's historical difficulties: no saint of that name,



a any history or legend. It is impossible that a priest in the XVth century, of the character of the supposed ROWLEY, should have been so grossly ignorant in a professional matter as to use the names of saints who never existed, or so wantonly profane as to set forth the creatures of his own imagination under that sacred title.

But the points of all others, with which the supposed ROWLEY ought necessarily to have been

name, nor any church dedicated to such a saint occurs either in our legends or ecclesiastical history. The *Memoirs* before mentioned speak seriously of such an abbey, to which Rowley went on a commission from Mr. Canning, in search of drawings; *but to answer for the authenticity of that account is no part of the present undertaking.*" I must observe by the way (and I hope the reader will remember), that the *Memoirs*, of which the Dean here speaks so contemptuously, are those very *Memoirs of Sir William Canynge by Rowley*, to which Mr. Bryant frequently appeals as to a genuine work [see p. 162. 223], and which the Dean himself, if I am not mistaken, will be found to have cited, upon another occasion, as *the most authentic records.*

Mr. Bryant has been as unsuccessful as the Dean in his researches after St. GODWIN, whom therefore he would change into St. GOLVIN, or St. GODWALD [p. 409], though it does not appear that either of those saints ever had a convent under his tutelage. Of the other two, Wareburgus and Baldwin, Mr. Bryant has not deigned to take the least notice, though one should have imagined, that two non-descript saints deserved at least as much illustration as he has been pleased to bestow upon the *Abbies of Oswald* [p. 233] and *Goodric* [p. 244], *Hibernies wood* [p. 240], and other *dark allusions* to things, which, like the saints above mentioned (it is humbly presumed) never existed but in the imagination of the writer.

best acquainted (and of consequence most exact in treating them), are the personal history of his friend CANYNGE, and the transactions at Bristol during his own time. Let us see therefore how he has acquitted himself in the *STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE*, and the *DETHE OF SIR CHARLES BAWDIN*, in which also CANYNGE is an actor. If these shall be found to be full of impossible falsities, we must conclude that they were not written by the person whose name they bear.

In the first place it should be observed, that the principal topic of this writer's panegyric on CANYNGE has no foundation in truth. The DEAN of EXETER has proved demonstratively, that CANYNGE was *not* sole founder or builder of Redcliff Church (15). Who can believe that a genuine ROWLEY would have complimented his

(15) Introduction to the Poems *on oure Ladies Chyrche*, p. 420. The Dean indeed says, that "it seems to be a question yet undecided, whether William Canning was the sole builder or only the principal benefactor to this edifice;" but the only evidence which is produced for his having been sole founder is that of the printed Poems, and of another by the same author, called the *Parliament of Sprites*, yet unpublished in Mr. Barrett's hands. In contradiction to this, the Dean has quoted the following passage from the *Mt. Chronicle of Bristol*. "Anno 1441. This year William Canninge, and others of the worshipfule town of Bristol, employed masons, workmen and labourers, and did repair, edify, cover and glaze Saint Mary Redcliff Church, at his and their own proper costs." He observes further, that "William Worcestre, a native of Bristol, and contemporary with Canninge, whose accounts and measure-  
ments

friend upon a fact, which he and all the world must have known to be false?

A like CONTRADICTION to HISTORY appears in the *Epitaph on Robert Canynge*, who is represented as the great grandfather of WILLIAM. [See the Dean's note, p. 427.] But allowing (what can scarcely have been possible) that ROWLEY might have been mistaken in such a point as this, how shall we account for his having called that brother of WILLIAM, who was Lord Mayor of London, *Jobne*, when so many records prove that his name was *Thomas* (16)?

ments of that building are so precise and accurate, who mentions Canning's trade and riches, his house and college of priests at Redcliff, does not speak of him either as the sole or even principal benefactor to the work; and he alleges a passage of *Canning's Will*, in which he orders himself to be buried *in loco quem construi feci in parte australi ejusdem ecclesie*, with this unanswerable comment upon it: "Would Canning have defined the place of his interment by the words *locum quem construi feci*, if he had been the sole builder of the church?" However undecided therefore the question may have been formerly, the Dean has proved incontrovertibly, that Canynge was *not* sole founder or builder of Redcliff Church. When he adds, that "the acknowledgement of this point is not more in favour of Chatterton's than of Rowley's claim to these Poems," I must differ totally from him. The tradition which he mentions to have given the credit to Canynge, might easily have misled Chatterton; but it is impossible that Rowley should have been mistaken in a fact which passed before his own eyes.

(16) *Storie of William Canynge*, ver. 129—134. Mr. Bryant [p. 315] says, that this circumstance [of Canynge's brother *John* having been Lord Mayor of London] is *veris*



In the transactions relative to Sir BALDWIN FULFORD, who is supposed to be celebrated under the name of Sir CHARLES BAWDIN, I have proved from a record [Intro. Account, p. xix.], that CANYNGE was Mayor of Bristol, and sat in the commission which tried and condemned Sir BALDWIN FULFORD in 1461, 1 Edw. IV. One must therefore be justly surpris'd, that so material a circumstance should be totally unnoticed in the poem on the *Death of Sir Charles Bawdin* (17).

Justified by the lists of Mayors in Fabian, Stowe, &c. though, in his note, he allows, "that there is great reason to think that the Mayor's name was not *John*, but *Thomas*;" and that Fabian styles him so. But the Dean of Exeter, [a. on ver. 91, p. 443] is so far from considering this circumstance as *verified*, that he chooses rather to suppose (contrary to the plain import of the words in the Poem) that *John* was not the brother—whom Canynge put in such a trade,

That he Lord Mayor of Londonne town was made;  
for (says he) the person who held that high office anno 1457, 36 Henry VIth, was called *Thomas*. He supposes therefore "that this stanza may allude to two different persons; *Canynge* might supply the wants of his brother *John*, and even settle him in London; but *Thomas* had probably an earlier establishment in trade, by the success of which he was advanced to the highest city honours." At the same time, the Dean is candid enough to confess, that "neither the Poem, nor these Memorials [viz. *The unpublished Life of Canning*, and *Letters of Canning to Rowley*, in Mr. Barrett's hands] mention any other brother besides *John*."

(17) Mr. Bryant indeed says, "In the Poem it is said, that at the time of this event William Canynge was Mayor." But I cannot find any passage in which this circumstance is said, or even implied. If the poet had been aware of it, he

When CANYNGE appears as intercessor for Sir CHARLES to the King, ver. 45—100, or in his subsequent conversation with Sir CHARLES, ver. 101—112, not the least intimation is given of his being Mayor, and having sitten in judgement upon him; nor, on the other hand, when the Mayor is introduced in the procession, ver. 293, have we any reason to suspect, that he is the CANYNGE, whom we had just seen acting so friendly a part towards the criminal.

The DEAN of EXETER has observed on ver. 265, “that the procession here described was probably real, at least it was so orderly in point of form, that *no modern pen* could have disposed it with so much propriety.” I am sorry to differ from so great a master of antient forms and usages; but it seems to me rather improbable, that such a procession should have attended the execution of a rebel of no high rank, in those times especially, when Peers of the realm were so frequently brought to the scaffold, and, as far as appears, without any such ceremony. With respect to the propriety of the description, I am inclined to think, that *none but a modern pen* would have called the CANONS of St. Augustine, and the MONKS of St. James, by the name of FREERS.

he would certainly have made some use of so interesting a situation, as that of a magistrate interceding for the life of a friend whom he had himself judicially condemned.

While those several orders subsisted, the distinction of *Freres* from *Monks*, and of *Canons* from both, was too well understood to be overlooked, or voluntarily confounded (18.)

It may be objected, says the DEAN [p. 337], "that the poet has not given either to Sir BALDWIN or his wife their true *Christian names*;" and the objection certainly requires a better answer than he has made to it. "Possibly (says he), both names were assumed by him, as more harmonious

(18) That such a slip might easily be made by a modern pen, the Dean himself has proved in his note on this passage, where he has given the title of *Augustinian Fryers* to the Augustinians founded by Robert Fitzharding in 1148, who are called by Leland (cited by the Dean in his note on ver. 293) *St. Augustine's Black Canons*; which was undoubtedly their proper title.

In the note on ver. 271, the Dean has thought himself obliged to say something to another impropriety, with which his poet had been charged, for dressing the Augustinians in *russet weeds*, when the habit of their order was *black*. After a good deal of discussion, to shew that the idea of *russet* might be affixed rather to the substance than to the colour of the garment, he concludes: "In fact, *russet weeds*, being the dress of hermits, were considered as tokens of humility and mortification, and as such were worn by the Knights of the Bath on the eve of their creation [see Anstis's Essay, Appendix, p. 42]; they were therefore, with great propriety, assumed in this melancholy ceremonial." If the Dean wishes us to believe, that, in this melancholy ceremonial, the Augustinians assumed (according to the plain import of his words) a dress which they did not usually wear, he should shew that it was customary for them, or any other religious order, to change their habits on such occasions,



to his numbers." Allowing this to have been possible, I would ask how he came to think of CHARLES, a name, which, in the XVth century, if not absolutely unused in England, was, I am persuaded, most exceedingly rare, and therefore, from its strangeness, not likely to have been adopted by a poet (19)? It is also scarce conceivable, that a contemporary writer should have omitted to make Sir BALDWIN shew some attention to his *two daughters*, as well as to his *two sons*, whom he mentions repeatedly. But it is plain, that this writer did not know that he had any daughters; for he is spoken of more than once

(19) I must not conceal, that, in turning over the 5th and 6th volumes of the *Parliament Rolls* with a view to this point, I found one person of the name of *Charles*; viz. *Charles Nowell*, vol. 5. p. 594, ann. 7 & 8. Edward IV. I should imagine that he was of French or Burgundian extraction. In these two volumes, which contain the Rolls from about the 20th Henry VI. to the end of Henry VII. I counted near a thousand names without one *Charles*. The name of *Florence*, which he has given to Sir Baldwin's wife instead of *Elizabeth*, which, according to the Dean, was her true name, is less exceptionable; but one cannot help being a little surprised to see a ballad-maker of the XVth century so refined, as to reject the proper names of his contemporaries for others of a more poetical sound. The Dean informs us (with seeming disapprobation) that this lady, notwithstanding her great affection for her husband and excessive grief at his execution, was married again in less than three years. He appears to be fearful (but surely without reason) that the shortness of her widowhood may be deemed inconsistent with that affection and grief described in the Poem. I do not believe, that he had any other authority for either.

as having only *two children*, ver. 24, and 57. The latter is part of CANYNGE's speech to the King :

“ Hee has a spouſe and *children twaine* ;”

where it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that the ſpeaker ſhould either have been ignorant of the true number of Sir BALDWIN's children, or ſhould wilfully have diminiſhed it.

That King EDWARD was at Briſtol *about* the time of Sir BALDWIN's execution, and might *poſſibly* have been preſent at it, I ſee no reaſon to diſpute (20) ; but we may be certain, that the ſpeech ſuppoſed to be made to him by Sir BALDWIN is entirely fictitious, and ſuch as no contemporary writer would have dared to invent. Beſides CANYNGE in the poem is repreſented as a Yorkiſt ;

(20) The firſt point is clear enough ; the ſecond is very problematical. I had inadvertently given more weight to the entry in the books of St. Ewin's church than it deſerves, by adding (from the account which I had received of that entry) that St. Ewin's church *was then the minſter*. But this is nonſenſe. [Who has not, at one time or other, talked nonſenſe upon the ſubject of Rowley?] Without diſcuſſing minutely the ſeveral appropriations of the word *minſter*, we may be certain, that a ſmall pariſh-church, as St. Ewin's was, could never have acquired the title of THE MINSTER in a town in which there were ſeveral monaſtic churches, and one ſo conſiderable as afterwards to become a cathedral. We have therefore in reality no ground to believe from this entry, that the King *was a ſpectator of the execution from the Minſter window, as deſcribed in the Poem* ; or even from the window of St. Ewin's church. If he had come thither for that purpoſe, we ſhould probably have ſeen other charges for ſcaffolding, &c. beſides that *for waſhing the church-pavement*.

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and therefore it is inconceivable that ROWLEY, whatever his private sentiments might have been, should have indulged himself in a composition, which must have given so much offence to his friend and patron. To get rid of the first of these difficulties, the DEAN has an ingenious supposition, that the poem was written, not at the time of the transaction, but "late in King Edward's reign, when fortune took a turn in King Henry's favour;" and I am ready to allow, that there were about *seven months*, from September 1470 to April 1471, in which a zealous Lancastrian might have vented his passion in this manner, without an apprehension of immediate punishment.

But the other difficulty must remain in full force, unless we admit another supposition of the DEAN's [p. 331], that CANYNGE, at this latter period, had changed his party; and "that this change might have been occasioned by King Edward's imposing on him a heavy fine of 3000 marks, and endeavouring to force him into a marriage with a lady of the Widdewille family, which he avoided by taking refuge in the orders of the church."

This last circumstance, as I have observed [Introd. Account, p. xxiii.], is alluded to in the *STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE*; and the DEAN tells us [in his note on ver. 91, p. 445], "that the menace of King Edward to force a daughter of Woodvile, Lord Rivers, upon Canynge for a  
wife,



wife, and his sheltering himself under the protection of holy orders, is a fact established by the MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS." But he does not tell us what records he means, though so singular a fact most certainly requires no ordinary attestation. Mr. BRYANT has been more fair [p. 312]. His record (the only one, I believe, in which any mention of this transaction can be found) is the MEMOIRS of CANYNGE, by T. ROWLEY, first printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* for November 1775 (21). In a subsequent passage indeed [p. 316] he seems willing to strengthen the autho-

(21) It has been reprinted by Mr. Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 159—164, and among *Miscellanies* by T. Chatterton, p. 119, seq. It is sometimes called *Memoirs of Canning*, sometimes *Memoirs of Rowley*, and sometimes, more specifically, *Memoirs of Canynge by Rowley*. Mr. Bryant upon this occasion, as well as many others, has cited these Memoirs as a genuine work of Rowley; but the Dean of Exeter has more than once intimated his doubts about their authenticity. I have cited in a former note, p. 97, one passage, in which he speaks very contemptuously of them; nor has he treated them with more respect in the following note on the *Battle of Hastings*, ver. 443. "As to the treatment which Rowley is said (in the printed History of Canning's Life, see Warton, vol. ii.) to have received from the wife of Mr. Pelham, who was descended from the family of Fiscamp, that account shall be left to plead for itself. It does not affect the authenticity of the Poem; nor is it necessary to believe, that every paper, which has been produced through Chatterton's hands, is an undoubted original of Rowley." After all this, one cannot but be surprised to see these same Memoirs referred to by the Dean as the MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS; for I am confident, that he cannot point out any other Record,  
History,

rity of the MEMOIRS by other evidence. "Of Sir William Canynge's going into orders to avoid the marriage proposed by King Edward, we have the following evidence, for which we are indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt. It is certain, from the register of the Bishop of Worcester, that Mr. Canynge was ordained Acolythe by Bishop Carpenter on 19th of September, 1467, and received the higher orders of Sub-deacon, Deacon, and Priest, on the 12th of March, 1467, O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, respectively." This evidence was produced by me [Introd. Account, p. xxiii.] to shew the time of CANYNGE's going into orders, which it does, I think, very precisely; but I never dreamt of its being applied to shew, that he went into orders to avoid a marriage proposed by King Edward, of which the register says not one word. On the contrary, I hope to demonstrate very clearly, that the dates ascertained by the register are totally inconsistent with those in the MEMOIRS; and of consequence, that neither the MEMOIRS, nor the STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE, which agrees with them in the same extravagant fiction, could possibly have been written by a genuine ROWLEY. Mr. BRYANT himself allows [p. 354], that "here History, or Narrative, by which " the menace of King Edward to force a daughter of Woodvile, Lord Rivers, upon Canynge for a wife, and his sheltering himself under the protection of holy orders," can be established.

is the test by which the authenticity of our author is to be tried. If these evidences on each side do not correspond, the whole falls to the ground."

The account of this matter in the MEMOIRS is thus stated by Mr. BRYANT [p. 353]: "In the yeare Kyng Edward came to Bristol, master Canninge send for me, to avoide a marriage which the Kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen of the familie of the Widdleviles (22). The danger were

(22) The Dean of Exeter says [p. 445] that she was a daughter of Woodville, Lord Rivers, and consequently sister to the Queen; so that, according to him, the King wanted to make master Canynge his brother-in-law. So material an improvement upon the MEMOIRS makes me apprehend a little that I may have wronged the Dean, by supposing, in a former note, that he had no other authority than the Memoirs for this transaction. Whenever he produces any, I shall be ready to beg his pardon.

Mr. Bryant has attempted to argue, from the orthography of the name *Widdleville*, that Chatterton copied these Memoirs from a *Manuscript*; "as ALL the printed histories of England exhibit the name *Woodville* [p. 319]." But how is the fact? I will take his word for those histories which he mentions, and has, I suppose, examined; but I have now before me a *Summary of Rapin's History*, in 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1747, (a book not unlikely to have come into Chatterton's hand) in which the name of King Edward's Queen and her family is constant, I believe, written *Widewile*, or *Wydevile*. The ingenious author of *Curfory Observations*, &c. informs us [p. 39], that Mr. Walpole, in his *Royal and Noble Authors*, has spelled this same name *Widville*; and I really imagine that to have been, of late years, the fashionable orthography. But it is sufficient to destroy Mr. Bryant's argument, to have shewn, that Chatterton might have found this name so spelled in a printed book.

nigh,



nigh, unless avoided by one remedee, an holle one, which was, to be ordained a soan of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that case, and cannot be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instantly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester; and the Fryday following was prepairede, and praynd the nexte day, the daie of St. Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of Our Ladie, to the astonishing of Kyng Edward, &c. According to this account, the transaction passed “in the year Kyng Edward came to Bristowe,” and the whole story supposes his presence there. We have seen above, that he was probably at Bristol in the beginning of September, 1461; but that was at least six years before Canynges ordination; and, besides, at that time the King himself had not married into the family of the Widdeviles. We are also informed by a Ms. Chronicle, cited by Mr. Warton [Hist. of Engl. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 153], that King Edward was at Bristol in 1472; but at that time Canynge had been in full orders above three years. What reason have we to believe that King Edward was at Bristol in 1467, the time of CANYNGES first ordination, established by the register? I can find none. Mr. BRYANT, in another place [p. 581], says, “the very article of King Edward being at Bristol in the year 1467, could hardly have been discovered by Chatterton; as it is, I believe, mentioned out by one historian.” I wish

with he had named that *one*, as I know not where to look for him.

For the present however let us *suppose*, upon the single evidence of the MEMOIRS, that King Edward was at Bristol in September 1467; that he formed the strange scheme of making the fortune of one of his wife's cousins, by marrying her to master CANYNGE; and that master CANYNGE had no way of avoiding the match but by stealing into orders. The account goes on to say, that *on the Fryday following he was prepared; and ordained the nexte day* (i. e. Saturday), *the day of St. Matthew; and on Sunday sung his first mass*: but this is a flat contradiction of the register, which says, that CANYNGE received his first orders on the *nineteenth* of September, 1467; for the day of St. Matthew, as every one knows, is the *twentieth* of that month; and moreover, in the year 1467 the day of St. Matthew fell not on a Saturday, but on a Sunday: another historical fact, with which the account in the MEMOIRS is totally inconsistent. Mr. BRYANT indeed has hit upon a curious method of reconciling these contradictions, by *supposing*, that *the day of St. Matthew*, in the MEMOIRS, means the *Vigil*, or, as he calls it, the *Fest* of St. Matthew, i. e. in common acceptation, *the day before the day of St. Matthew*. If he has discovered any arguments by which he has been

*a first*

able to make this supposition probable to himself, I admire his ingenuity; if he can make it probable to others, I shall certainly never venture again to dispute with so powerful a master of the arts of persuasion.

But even if we should allow, that *the day of St. Matthew* may be construed to mean *the day before the day of St. Matthew*, yet still the account in the MEMOIRS would be irreconcilable to the Register. For the MEMOIRS say, that CANYNGE *on Sunday sung his first mass*; an expression which can only be properly used of a *priest*: but the Register proves, that in September 1467 he was only ordained *acolythe* (23), and did not receive the higher orders till the March and April following. It should be remarked further, that, as CANYNGE at that time was only ordained *acolythe*, however *astonished* the King might be, there was

(23) An *acolythe* is thus described in the Canons of Africa, *Codex J. E. A.* p. 69. *Acolythus dicitur, qui candelam vel cereum accensum fert, dum Evangelium legitur in Dei ministerio, v. l. dum sacerdos Sacramentum Corporis Domini ad altare consecrat.* The idea in the MEMOIRS, that Canynge received all the several orders, including that of priest, in the same day, is not only contrary to the fact, as established by the Register [see before, p. 107], but also to ecclesiastical law and practice [*Codex, J. E. A.* p. 131]. I should doubt whether the Pope himself ever so far dispensed with the usual forms, as to confer all the orders in one day. The four inferior orders might be conferred together, and probably were upon Canynge, though that of *acolythe* only, being the highest of them, is mentioned in the Register.



no reason why he should give up his project of the marriage, as the order of *acolythe*, or any of the orders inferior to that of *subdeacon*, did not lay the person ordained under any incapacity of contracting matrimony. CANYNGE therefore, by such a step, would only have provoked the King, without providing himself with any security against his power.

This story in the MEMOIRS has an additional clause, which, for some reason or other, Mr. BRYANT has thought fit to detach, and to illustrate in a separate article, p. 313. "The King, upon hearing this (says Mr. BRYANT), was angry beyond description, and resented CANNINGE's behaviour highly: so that, as we are informed by the author [of the Memoirs], CANNINGE was glad to present him with three thousand marks, in order to avoid his future ill-will. This was an immense sum for those times, and almost incredible. But we have authority for it in the treatise before mentioned of William of Worcestre; who authenticates this *part of the story*, past all dispute, p. 99. "Item ultra ista Edwardus rex quartus habuit de dicto Wilhelmo (Canyngis) III millia marcarum pro pace sua habenda." Whoever will take the trouble of looking into WILLIAM of WORCESTER will see, that all, which he can be brought to authenticate, is the simple fact, that Edward IV.

had

had once from master CANYNGE a fine of three thousand marks; but he has not a syllable to authenticate that fact, as *part of the story* in the MEMOIRS, viz. that the fine was paid to mitigate the King's displeasure against Canynge, *for going into orders to avoid a marriage with a ladie of the Widderville family*. With respect to the simple fact, Mr. BRYANT needed not to have had recourse to WILLIAM of WORCESTRE to authenticate it. He might have quoted the authority which WILLIAM of WORCESTRE himself appears to have followed, the EPITAPH on master CANYNGE, still remaining to be read by every body, in Latin and English, in Redcliff Church (23). I am not prepared, nor do I think it incumbent upon me, to assign the

(23) It is a common (I will not say artifice, but) practice of my learned antagonists, to cite obscure and out-of-the-way authorities for the proof of things of vulgar notoriety. If Mr. Bryant had cited *Canynge's Epitaph* upon this occasion, he would not have illustrated his position [p. 480], that "it requires a great insight into antiquity to find out the circumstances alluded to" in these Poems. The Dean of Exeter has also had the caution [p. 444] to cite this story, and other circumstances of Canynge's life, from *William of Worcestre*, rather than from the *Epitaph*; though he appears to have examined the monuments in Redcliff church with some attention; as he assures us, that the *figure of master Canynge*, upon one of them, *exactly verifies a portraiture of him, as it appears among Rowley's papers*. Is he certain, that the portraiture was not made from the figure?

true consideration for which the fine was paid (24). It is enough for me to be able to deny, that it could have any connexion with the transaction related in the MEMOIRS, that transaction itself having been proved to be a mere fable.

The whole story therefore of master Canynge's ordination, having been tried by *the test* proposed by Mr. BRYANT himself, and the evidences having been shewn plainly *not to correspond*, the reader can have no difficulty in concluding with Mr. BRYANT, that "*the whole falls to the ground.*" So

(24) The matters of discussion, both civil and criminal, between the prince and his subjects, were in these times so numerous, and were all so frequently terminated by a fine, or payment of money, that the field is too wide for conjecture. It appears from *Madoxes Hist. of the Exchequer*, Ch. xiii. Sect. x. that this particular sort of fine *pro pace habenda* was generally paid for the suspension or reversal of some legal process or judgement, though perhaps it was not unfrequently levied under the larger terms, *Pro benevolentia regis habenda, Ut rex indignationem remittat*, &c. Ibid. Sect. v. Among various offences, enumerated by Madox, in which the King's peace was to be purchased, I cannot find any one quite similar to that atrocious species of *Læse-majesty*, with which poor master Canynge has been charged by the author of the MEMOIRS, viz: *a refusal to marry the Queen's cousin*. As the offence was new and unprecedented, we may suppose, that the intent of so severe a fine was to nip it in the bud: But to be serious: though it may not be easy to discover what was the real occasion of this payment, we may be morally certain, that, as the Epitaph must have been written by some friend of Canynge's in the life-time of King Edward, the transaction alluded to was of such a nature, as not to imply any criminality in Canynge, or any oppression on the part of the King.

direct



direct and manifest a CONTRADICTION TO HISTORY, in so remarkable a transaction, in which the writer pretends to have borne himself so considerable a part, must outweigh a hundred little coincidences with probability, or even with truth, in names, usages, &c. all of which are, in general, such as an impostor of moderate abilities might at any time either borrow from books, or invent himself.

## PART THE THIRD.

BY the preceding examination of various parts of the *internal* evidence, I flatter myself that I have established this incontrovertible position, that the Poems, attributed to ROWLEY, WERE NOT WRITTEN BY HIM, OR ANY PERSON IN THE XVth CENTURY. The remaining question is, BY WHOM and WHEN they were written. But before I proceed to the discussion of that, I think it proper to examine, shortly, what is the earliest *external* evidence which we have of the existence of any Poems under the *name* of ROWLEY. That these Poems were written by any such person, no *external* evidence whatsoever can be sufficient to prove; but it may be of use in determining the date of their first appearance in the world, and consequently lead to the discovery of the real author.

The first story, which was circulated concerning these Poems, and which the advocates for their authenticity are still obliged to support as well as they can, was, that they made part of a collection of ancient writings, and other curiosities, deposited by Mr. CANYNGE in Redcliff Church. But what evidence have we that Mr. CANYNGE made

made any such deposit? It was said at first to appear from his will; in which he had given particular directions for depositing these poems, with the rest of his collection, in a certain chest locked with six keys; and, for the better preservation of such treasures, had ordered the chest to be annually visited and inspected by the Mayor, and others. This must be allowed to sound well; but, unluckily, upon examination of CANYNGE's will, not a syllable of this curious tale is to be found in it. No books or writings are there mentioned, except "two books, called "*Liggers cum integra legenda*," which he leaves to Redcliff church, to be used occasionally in the choir by the two chaplains there by him established." We are now told by Mr. BRYANT [p. 508], that we have a most satisfactory proof of this fact from a Latin deed in the possession of Mr. BARRETT; which he describes "as fairly written in an official hand of indisputable antiquity; made in the 8th year of Edward IV. and containing an account of some chantries, founded by Mr. Canynge; of the principal chest locked with six keys, stiled *Cista serata cum sex clavibus*; of the annual visitation," &c. But he does not tell us, what this Latin deed says about the *Poems*. I saw myself, and have quoted in the Introductory Account, p. xxv. a Latin deed in the possession of Mr. BARRETT, which agrees in many particulars



with this described by Mr. BRYANT. The principal difference, which I remember, is, that the deed which I saw was made in the 7th year of Edward IV. being dated on the xxth September, 1467; and, beside some matters relative to the chantries mentioned by Mr. BRYANT, contained a donation of 500*l.* part in money, and part in jewels pawned by Sir Theobald Gorges, to the church of St. Mary Redcliff. The famous chest is also described, in the deed which I saw, in the very words quoted by Mr. BRYANT, *cista ferata cum sex cignibus*; but it is there applied to the purpose for which one might suppose it to have been provided by a cautious old trader, the reception of money and jewels, not poems or any other unprofitable curiosities. If therefore the deed, to which Mr. BRYANT refers, be the same with that which I saw, I will venture to assert, as from memory, that it contains not the least proof that any poems were deposited by CANYNGE in Redcliff church; and that no other deed in the possession of Mr. BARRETT contains any such proof, I think myself authorized to conclude from the silence of the DEAN of EXETER, who appears to have had a free access to Mr. BARRETT's collections, to have perused them diligently, and to have produced from them generally, with a laudable candour, whatever he thought applicable to the question, on the one side or the other. He would  

never

never have omitted to produce a deed, which would furnish so strong a support to his own declared opinion.

I have never heard of any other evidence that has been pretended to prove this point of the original deposite of the Poems, and therefore I think myself well founded in presuming that none can be brought. Supposing, however, for the present, that such a whim might have entered into the head of CANYNGE, as might have led him to deposite a fair transcript of his friend's poems in a church-chest rather than in any library, is it possible to suppose that this transcript was at that time the only existing copy of those Poems? Had the author destroyed all his original draughts? Had he never given any copies to any other person? Besides, according to the MEMOIRS of CANYNGE by ROWLEY, which Mr. BRYANT cites so frequently, ROWLEY survived CANYNGE several years. Was he under any restriction never to compose any more poems, not even an elegy on his patron's death? Or, lastly, could he be so insensible of even laudable ambition, as to trust the immortality of his own and his friend's fame to a single copy of his works, and that locked up in an almost inaccessible repository?

However difficult these questions may be to answer, I am of opinion, that the advocates for the genuineness of these Poems cannot with any safety

abandon the supposition, that they have been preserved in a *single copy*, deposited by CANYNGE, or ROWLEY himself, in some hole or other, where it remained safe, though unnoticed, for more than two centuries. Even upon the supposition of a *single copy* having been originally deposited, it will be difficult to assign a reason, why the persons to whom that copy was entrusted, the friends, probably, of both CANYNGE and ROWLEY, who had dined at those feasts which the DEAN of EXETER has painted so charmingly [p. 191], and had afterwards perhaps been delighted with the variegated scenery of ÆLLA; it will be difficult, I say, to assign a reason; why they should never, either for themselves or others, have ordered or permitted any copies of these Poems to be taken; why their successors in the trust should for ages have maintained the same obstinate reserve; why not even an entry, or memorandum, appears to have been made any-where, which might at least inform posterity that such a treasure existed. All these difficulties, it must be confessed, attend the supposition of a *single copy*; but still, as I said before, that seems to be the most tenable ground, upon which the champions for ROWLEY can stand. If they once depart from that; if they allow, that other copies were in being at the time of the deposit, or were suffered afterwards to issue into the world, it will be impossible for them to explain,

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by what extraordinary concurrence of improbable events it can have happened, that every one of those copies should have sunk into entire oblivion; that no poet, no historian, no antiquary, should have taken the least notice of them; that no literary biographer, neither LELAND, nor BALE, nor PITTS, nor TANNER, should have found materials enough (and we know that very little would have sufficed) to enable him to enroll the name of ROWLEY among the numerous writers of the XVth century.

Supposing, therefore, what neither has been, nor can be proved, that the *only* existing copy of ROWLEY's Poems was deposited in Redcliff church, and lay there for many years locked up in a chest; and that this accounts for the name of the author having been during that time totally unknown; what supposition are we to adopt next, in order to account for his remaining equally unknown for forty years, after the chest had been broken open, and the contents of it partly removed to a more accessible repository, and partly *left at large*? We are obliged to Mr. BRYANT for what I believe to be the true history of opening the chest. He says [p. 512], that "in the year 1727 there was a notion, that some title-deeds were in the chest; and those of the vestry directed, that it should be opened under the inspection of an attorney; and that the writings, deemed of value, should be re-

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moved to the south porch of the church. Accordingly, all the locks were forced, and the chest broken open; and as there were other chests in the same place, if I mistake not, six in number, supposed to contain ancient writings, they all suffered in the same manner. The deeds, which related to the church, were in consequence of this removed; and all the other manuscripts *left at large*, without any defence; being totally neglected, as things of no value."

Upon this history it is obvious to remark, that the attorney, under whose inspection *the writings deemed of value* were to be removed, must have necessarily examined not only those which were removed, but also those which were left behind. Without attributing to him more taste for poetry than usually falls to the lot of gentlemen of that profession, is it possible to conceive, that, if he had found a volume or more of ancient poems in such a singular situation, he would have thrown them aside without looking into them? Or, if he had looked into them, and found them to relate so immediately to CANYNGE, to Bristol, to Redcliff church in particular, is it not probable, that he would at least have advised his employers to let them be removed, *with the writings deemed of value*, to the new repository? If this advice had been rejected, is it not probable that he would have begged these abandoned volumes for himself,

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or some friend who might be curious in such matters, rather than they should be *left at large, as things of no value*, to be carried away by the first comer?

But in this transaction, as in every other relative to these Poems, what is probable appears never to have happened. They certainly were not removed into the new repository; and the attorney, it should seem, was so far from any wish to possess them, that he did not even think it worth his while to take notice to any one that he had found any such poems in his examination of the manuscripts. At least, the name of ROWLEY, for many years after this opening of the chest, was as totally unknown as before; and all the change which he experienced in his fortunes was, that thenceforward he was to be exposed to be torn to pieces in an open chest, instead of mouldering quietly in one *locked with six keys*.

In this period of his purgatory he appears to have been under the sole custody of JOHN CHAT-  
TERTON, who, according to the DEAN of EXETER [p. 6], was sexton of Redcliff Church from the year 1725 to 1748. This man for several years seems to have afforded his prisoner no cause of complaint, except perhaps for a total neglect of him. We have no positive evidence, that any of these manuscripts, however abandoned, as we have seen above, by the governors of the parish, were  
destroyed



destroyed or carried away out of the church, till about the year 1743 (25). At that time, this CHATTERTON's nephew "keeping a writing-school in Pile-street, the uncle (says the DEAN of EXETER [p. 6], from the information of the school-master's widow) furnished him with many old parchments for covering the boys copy-books, a little before the death of Mr. Gibbs, vicar of Redcliff, which parchments were taken out of some ancient chests in the room over the north porch of Redcliff Church." Mrs. CHATTERTON says further, "that the charity-boys belonging to the school brought these parchments to her

(25) It should seem however, that some of them had got abroad before that time, as Mr. Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, &c. vol. i. ch. 3, has printed a copy of a paper, said to be taken from *Redcliff Church*, which was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1736. It is a *Memorandum*, setting forth, that on the 4th day of July, 1470, maister *Canyng* had delivered to the vicar and procurators of St. Mary Redcliff a *newe sepulchre*, with various figures and other scenery, for the representation of the mystery of the Resurrection. In Mr. Walpole's copy the name is *Gummings*, but it is *Canyng* in a transcript which I have seen; in which too the *Memorandum* is said to have been found "in the cabinet of the late John Browning, Esq; of Barton, near Bristol." If Mr. Browning had carried off any poems of ROWLEY, they would probably have been found in the same cabinet.

I observe by the way, that it is not to the credit of maister *Canyng*, that he should have continued to encourage these mummeries, after his friend ROWLEY had exposed the absurdity and profaneness of them in his *Epistle on Ælla*, ver. 43-6.

husband's

husband's house, and that they filled a large mawnd basket: that many of them had seals, the figure of a pope or a bishop in a chair; others had no seals: that her husband put them in cupboards in the school, for the purpose of covering the boys' writing-books; the best of them were put to that use, and the rest remained in the cupboard: she thinks her husband read some of them, but does not know that he transcribed any, or was acquainted with their value. Being particularly fond of music, he employed his leisure hours in writing it for the cathedral, of which he was a singing-man: he had been employed in London in engrossing deeds for the attorneys, and was probably acquainted with the old hands; he had also been writing-usher to a school where the classics were taught, and thereby knew a little of the Latin tongue."

This account, as stated by the DEAN of EXETER, from the information of Mrs. CHATTERTON, I have transcribed at full length; because it contains the most authentic evidence, which we have, with respect to the first removal of any manuscripts from Redcliff Church; to the quantity and quality of them; to the person into whose hands they came, and to the use which he made of them. The time is stated very particularly to have been *a little before the death of Mr. Gibbs*, that is, probably about 1743. The quantity was

such as to fill a large mawnd basket. The quality is no otherwise specified, than that many of them had *seals*, and others none. *Nothing in the form of a book is mentioned to have been among them.*

Mr. CHATTERTON, into whose hands they came, is stated to have been at the time a writing-master; to have been formerly employed in engrossing for attorneys, and probably acquainted with the old hands, and to have known a little of Latin. Mrs. CHATTERTON thinks, that he read some of the manuscripts, but does not know that he transcribed any; and the chief use which she mentions him to have made of them was to cover the boys writing-books with the best of them, and to put up the remainder in a cupboard for the same purpose. He died in August 1752, without having ever dropped to his wife, or any one else, as far as appears, a single syllable about ROWLEY or his Poems; and when his widow removed from the school-house, she put the parchments, remaining in the cupboard, partly into a large long deal box, and partly into a smaller square oak box, and carried them with her to her lodgings.

There we will leave them for the present, and return to the manuscripts remaining in the church. We have no evidence that CHATTERTON the sexton disposed of any of them, except those above-mentioned to his nephew. The next sexton was PERROT, from 1748 to May 1756. Soon after his



his accession to the office, he had that conversation with a Mr. SHIERCLIFF, of which Mr. BRYANT has given us so accurate an history [p. 512—514]. The substance of it is, that Mr. SHIERCLIFF saw parchments in heaps, some quite loose, some tied up; that PERROT seemed to intimate to him, that he might, if it were agreeable to him, take some of them. But he did not regard the hint, as he had no taste for such ancient writings." Mr. SHIERCLIFF adds, what is very material, "*that, when the name of ROWLEY was afterwards brought up, and his Poems became the public talk, it revived in his mind many faint ideas of this transaction.*" This proves, that, at the time of this transaction in 1749, *the name of ROWLEY had not been brought up*; and therefore I suspect that the DEAN of EXETER must be under a mistake [p. 16], when he represents Mr. SHIERCLIFF as having said, that "at this distance of time he cannot positively say, whether *the name of ROWLEY* was mentioned, *but thinks it was.*" If Mr. SHIERCLIFF had expressed the faintest idea of having heard *the name of ROWLEY* upon that occasion, Mr. BRYANT would assuredly not have omitted so material a part of his evidence.

The last person, who is mentioned as having taken any manuscripts out of the church (before the year 1765), is a Mr. MORGAN, whom the DEAN of EXETER calls "a curious man, and a great

great lover of antiquities, although no scholar." Mr. BRYANT [p. 514] says, "he had been a barber." A note of his has been produced by the DEAN [p. 16], in which he speaks of "the trunks and boxes still remaining" in Redcliff Church, "with many hundred old deeds in them; where (says he) I have been furnished with many curious materials." The DEAN endeavours to account for Mr. MORGAN's not mentioning the *poetry* among these old records, by two *suppositions*, which I shall not examine here. It is sufficient for my purpose to observe, that neither in this note of Mr. MORGAN, nor, I presume, in his other papers, which are said to be now in the possession of Mr. BARRETT, is there any mention of ROWLEY, or POETRY of any sort, discovered by him in rummaging the manuscripts in Redcliff Church; so that we may be very confident, that he had not met with any such things.

## PART THE FOURTH.

WE have thus brought our enquiry, into the external evidence for the existence of any poems under the name of Rowley, down to the year 1769; which was nearly the time of Mr. MORGAN's death; and at that time, I think, it is very clear from the premisses, not only that there was no evidence, but that there was not even a rumour or imagination, that any such poems either did exist or ever had existed. Very soon indeed after this period, the Poems, which are the subject of our present discussion, were produced to the world, as having been written by one THOMAS ROWLEY in the XVth century, and were attempted to be authenticated, by the person who produced them, by various species of evidence. It has been proved, I hope, to the reader's full satisfaction, that these Poems could not have been written by THOMAS ROWLEY, or any other person in the XVth century; and I shall now endeavour to make it probable, that they, and the evidence, such as it is, in support of them, were both fabricated, a little before their first appearance in the world, by the person who produced them.



That person is universally acknowledged to have been THOMAS CHATTERTON, the son of CHATTERTON the writing-master above-mentioned, born, soon after his father's death, on the 20th of November, 1752. We have just seen that not an idea of ROWLEY or his *Poems* was entertained by any one till several years after this; and it is as certain, that not a single *Poem*, purporting to be the work of ROWLEY, has since appeared in the world, which did not come originally out of the hands of this THOMAS CHATTERTON. The *Poems* therefore having been proved to be forged, the suspicion at least of having forged them falls naturally upon him.

His defence, whenever he was questioned about them, was merely this; "that he copied them from the manuscripts which his father had taken out of a chest in Redcliff Church." It has been shown that there is not the least ground for believing that any *Poems* were ever deposited in Redcliff Church. If any had been there, is it credible that they should all have been swept away at one haul by old CHATTERTON, so that no one, who came after him, should have been able to pick up a single line? If even that had happened, is it credible that he, who was probably capable of reading any hand of the XVth century, should either have never discovered himself, or should have obstinately concealed from every body else,

that some of these manuscripts contained *Poems*? Daffy, supposing him to have been entirely ignorant of their contents, is it possible that they should have been applied for eight or nine years together, indiscriminately, as far as appears, to the covering of writing books and bibles; that, for fourteen or fifteen years more, the remainder should have been applied, with as little selection, to the making of thread-papers, patterns, dolls, and the like (26); and that, after all, the refuse of that

(26) This account of the application of the parchments for the first period, from 1743 to 1752, is taken from Mrs. Chatterton's narrative, reported by the Dean of Exeter, p. 6, 7. See also Mr. Bryant, p. 520, 1. The account for the second period, from 1752 to 1767, is taken from the information of young Chatterton to Mr. W. Smith, as related by Mr. Smith to Dr. Glynn in 1778 [Bryant, p. 527, 8]. Though both my learned opponents have inserted this part of Mr. Smith's relation without any marks of distrust, I must in candour observe, that it is inconsistent with Mrs. Chatterton's narrative, which says, that after the removal of the parchments in boxes to her lodgings, they continued neglected and undisturbed, till her son first discovered their real value [Milles, p. 6]. It is not material to my argument, which of these stories is true; for, as nothing but a miracle could have preserved the *Poems* during the first period, so the same miracle, it must be allowed, might have preserved them during the second.

Mr. Bryant's delicacy, it seems (p. 528, n. \*), "prevented him from asking Mrs. Chatterton about the MSS. being put to these uses, as it might have embarrassed her. — Yet (as he observes very truly) there could be no more harm in her making use of them for thread-papers, than for her husband employing them for covers of books." I

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orders, while residing in London, and

remainder should be found to contain a number of *Poems*, by a Poet never heard of before (one of twelve hundred lines without a single chasm), and a number of pieces in prose by the same author (27).

It is true, that, in order to gain some credit to this very improbable tale, CHATTERTON did, at

will therefore that he had asked her about this matter; not merely for the sake of knowing the truth of the fact, but because our knowledge of it might enable us to form a general notion of the degree of *veracity*, which Chatterton observed in his conversations with his *bosom friends*, such as Mr. Smith and others are represented to have been. If the parchments had not been used for thread-papers, Chatterton's account to Mr. Smith, of the manner of his discovering them, must have been a lie. The account is [Bryant, p. 520], "that one day (after he was articulated to Mr. Lambert) his eye was caught by one of these *thread-papers*; that he found not only the writing to be very old, and the characters very different from common characters; but the subject therein treated was different from common subjects;—that he began to question his mother what these *thread-papers* were; how she got them; and from whence they came; and upon further enquiry was led to a full discovery of all the parchments which remained." I must observe too, that Mrs. Newton, who, as Mr. Bryant assures us, p. 521, "could recollect the whole process of her brother's discovering the parchments in the box," has not said a word about the *thread paper*, which led to the discovery.

(27) I have observed above, p. 126, that nothing in the form of a book is mentioned to have been among these parchments; so that the tragedy of *Alla* must have had extraordinary good luck to come down to us, through all the perils with which it was environed, complete, in loose leaves, without the loss, as far as we can judge, of a single leaf.

different



different times, produce a few fragments of what he called the *original manuscripts*, from which his copies were made. Had all these fragments been proved to be genuine, they would have gone a very little way towards authenticating the Poems attributed to ROWLEY; but, in fact, there are the strongest reasons for believing them all forged.

They are four in number, and contain all together 124 verses. The most considerable in length was that which he produced first, containing 66 verses. It has since been lost; but we know that it contained *the Challenge to Lydgate, the Songe to Ella, and Lydgate's Answer*; and therefore we can have no difficulty in pronouncing it a forgery, as the correspondence itself between LYDGATE and the supposed ROWLEY is plainly fictitious (28).

(28) According to Mr. Bryant's own account of the supposed Rowley [p. 539], he was admitted *acolyte* in the year 1439, when he might be from fifteen to twenty years of age. At that time Lydgate had been a priest above forty years, having been ordained in 1397, and he had been admitted to his first orders nine years before, in 1388; so that he was probably at least fifty years older than Mr. Bryant's Rowley. But in this correspondence they are made to converse upon the footing of *old friends*, which certainly implies a greater equality of age.

Mr. Bryant has another way of solving the difficulty by supposing, that the Lydgate in the correspondence was not the famous monk of Bury. The answer is said to have been sent by John Lydgate, *priest in London*. But, says Mr. Bryant, a *priest of London* could not be a monk of Bury. A caviller might suggest a little difference between a *priest of London* and a *priest in London*. A monk of Bury in priest's orders, while residing in London, might surely be

Another of these fragments, entitled, "*The accounts of William Canynge's feast*," has been copied

called a priest in London. If Mr. Bryant could prove that there ever was another Lydgate, to whom the circumstances of this correspondence would be more suitable than to the monk of Bury, we might admit his distinction. As matters stand, I cannot help thinking that he is too severe upon those, who "have been searching into Lydgate's works of Bury, to find out the name of Rowley," and perhaps, at bottom he himself may be not so much displeased with them for having searched, as for not having found.

I must not conceal what the Dean of Exeter tells us, that "this was the first of Rowley's compositions produced by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett; and, besides the apparent antiquity of the vellum, ink, and hand-writing, it had this *unusual, but strong proof of authenticity*, that it was written in continued lines, extending the whole breadth of the parchment, like a prose composition." Mr. Bryant has the same story, p. 566, and adds: "This was of old usual, in order to save expence, by crowding as much as could be brought together within a small compass; because materials for writing were dear." But in the circumstances of this case, this manner of writing is so far from being a proof of authenticity, that in my opinion it very much increases the suspicion of forgery. In 1313 (according to Anderson, vol. i. p. 153), a skin of parchment cost two pence farthing. A skin was often folded into 12 leaves, of which every page would very well contain 36 lines; so that, I apprehend, all the works attributed to Rowley, unpublished as well as published, might have been transcribed fairly, without crowding one verse into another, upon five or six skins of parchment; the price of which at Bristol in 1460 (we will suppose) might be double to that in 1313. Make it treble, or quadruple, we must reverse all our ideas of Canynge, before we can believe, that he would suffer his poetical friend to be reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the beauty of his writings to such a pitiful saving of parchment. But poor Chatterton had no Canynge; and his materials for writing were probably scarce. He might think

in the manner of a *Fac simile*, and submitted to public examination in thy edition, and since in the DEAN'S. I have never met with any one, who had examined that *Fac simile* with the least attention, who was not satisfied that the archetype was a forgery (29). Of the two other fragments, one contains the "*Epitaph on Robert Canynge*," and the other the 36 first verses of the "*Storie of William Canynge*." If it had been thought that either of them would bear the light better than "*The Accounte of W. Canynge's Feaste*," one or other of the learned advocates for ROWLEY would certainly have obtained Mr. BARRETT'S permission to give us a *Fac simile* of them. An engraving of that too, that a manner of writing so contrary to modern practice would have the appearance of being antient; as in general he seems to have thought, with respect to words and things, that whatever was *not modern*, was *ancient*.

(29) Though the Dean has been pleased to declare roundly [p. 429], "that this *Fac simile* does not do justice to the original," he has not attempted to point out any instance of deficiency, redundance, or variation in it. They who are acquainted with the diligence and ability of the engraver will not be much moved, I apprehend, by so vague a censure. Will the Dean venture to say, that he believes the original to be genuine? I will only take notice here of one egregious slip of the forger. Whoever has been at all conversant with ancient Mss. must have observed, that the forms of many of the Arabian numerals have varied at different times as much as any letters. But the figures 63 in the *Fac simile* are perfectly modern, and not only modern, but they are exactly such figures as Chatterton himself used to make; as can be proved by comparing them with specimens of his hand-writing now in being.



fort would have afforded at least as interesting a decoration to the DEAN's commentary as either the seal of SIR BALDWIN DE FULFORD, or the tomb-stone of JOHN LAMINGTON, or even the ANGLO-SAXON DULCIMER with nine or ten strings. However there is no reason why they, who cannot have the *ocular proof*, should suspend their judgements upon this occasion. If the whole Antiquarian Society had inspected these two fragments, and had decided unanimously, that the hand-writing was *similar* to that of the XVth century; that the parchment had the true *yellow tinge*, and the exact *rumple and soil* of antiquity; that the ink was of a due *faintness* and *greyness*, and the characters sufficiently *obscure*; all this would prove, not that the fragments were genuine, but that the forgery was well enough executed to impose, at first sight, upon *good judges*. The "*Epitaph on Robert Canynge*" must still be deemed supposititious, from its mentioning him as the *great grandfather* of WILLIAM [see before, p. 99]; and the 36 first verses of the "*Storie of William Canynge*" cannot be exempted from the condemnation, which has already been passed upon, the whole story, as full of impossible falsities [see before, p. 107—115]. One of those falsities appears in this pretended original, ver. 31—34; the mention of Saint WAREBURGUS, whom the DEAN him-

himself calls *truly apocryphal* [see before, p. 96. n. 14] (30).

(30) I cannot part with these curious fragments, without observing, that they are very ill calculated to impress us with the idea of their having been deposited, among other valuable curiosities, by a wealthy merchant in Redcliff Church. One should rather suspect them of having been scrawled by a beggar upon scraps of parchment picked off a dunghill. The Dean of Exeter [p. 429] says, "that the hand in which the fragment of the *Storie of William Canynge* is written, is somewhat different from the *Account of Canynge's Feast*;" and I add, that the hand in which the *Epitaph on Robert Canynge* is written, differs entirely, as I remember, from both. To get rid of this difficulty, the Dean asks, "Why might they not have been transcribed by different amanuenses?" To which the answer is obvious, that neither Canynge nor Rowley could possibly have hired three such execrable scribblers to write for them. I should rather advise the Dean to maintain, that the *Account of Canynge's Feast* was, as it purports to be, written by Canynge himself, being subscribed with his name. The two others, being in different hands, could not both have been written by Rowley; but one of them might. Which it is, Mr. Bryant will be able to determine best, who, it seems [p. 570], knows where to find "*several manuscripts still extant, which were written by Rowley himself, and are subscribed with his name in his own hand-writing.*" The third perhaps might as probably be attributed to Sir Thybbat Gorges, who, being a man of quality, we may suppose, did not pique himself much upon calligraphy.

I must make another observation. In the case of the fragment containing the songe to *Aella*, which is written in continued lines like prose, we have been told [see before, n. (28)], "that such a manner of writing is a strong proof of authenticity," it "having been usual of old, in order to save expence, by crowding as much as could be brought together within a small compass." But in each of these three fragments one side of the parchment is blank, without any writing upon it. How are we to account for this

The fragments, therefore, which CHATTERTON produced as part of his original manuscripts, are so far from adding any credit to the Poems, that they serve to fix more strongly upon him the suspicion of having been himself the forger; especially as it has been lately proved by indisputable evidence, that in the very first publication, which he pretended to make from an old manuscript, the *Account of the Ceremonies observed at the opening of the Old Bridge*, he not only confessed to one of his friends that he was the author of that Account, but also brought to the same friend a piece of parchment, filled with writing, to represent the

total neglect of the old æconomy? If the former method of writing was a proof of authenticity, this waste of precious parchment must be considered as a proof of spuriousness. But there is a still more material observation to be made upon the fragment, which contains the beginning of the *Story of William Canynge*. It is particularly described by the Dean of Exeter, p. 428, who tells us, "that the four or five first lines in it are the conclusion of Rowley's *List of Skilled Painters and Carvellers*." This fragment therefore must be supposed to have made part of the book containing Rowley's *List of Skilled Painters and Carvellers*, of which several copies from Chatterton's transcript are extant. But if this fragment made part of a book, it is difficult to conceive how one side came to be left without any writing upon it. If the written side be (*folium rectum*) the upper side of the leaf, we should naturally expect to see the continuation of the Poem on the other; if it be (*folium versum*) the under side of the leaf, we should as naturally expect to see on the other side the preceding part of the *List of Skilled Painters and Carvellers*. It seems incumbent upon the advocates for the genuineness of the parchments to clear up these matters.

original,



original, and in his presence held it over a candle, to give it the appearance of antiquity (31). If he had been tried for uttering a false bill, his allegation, that he found it, might have been considered as nothing more than a plea of *Not guilty*; but if he had attempted to justify the genuineness of the bill by forged evidence, and had been detected in any one instance, he must have had great good luck to escape conviction, not only as accessory, but as principal in the fraud.

Indeed the learned persons, who have lately undertaken to defend the authenticity of these Poems, seem to be so sensible of the total insufficiency of all the evidence, which has been or can be brought in support of ROWLEY's title to them, that they touch that part of the argument very sparingly, and exhaust all their ingenuity in assigning various reasons why CHATTERTON could not have been the author of them. If this point were allowed, I do not see that the other follows of necessity. I might as well, from the proof which I have given that they could not have been written by ROWLEY, infer at once that they were

(31) See Mr. Ruddall's testimony, as reported by the Dean of Exeter, p. 436; and by Mr. Croft, in Mr. Warton's Enquiry, &c. p. 175. There are some variations in the two accounts; but they both agree in establishing the material fact, that Chatterton, soon after his first essay to impose false antiquities upon the public, before he was sixteen years of age, had formed a regular plan of authenticating his pretended copies by forged originals.

written

written by CHATTERTON. But the questions are certainly distinct, and I shall continue to treat them separately.

We have just seen how very weak the defence was, which CHATTERTON himself set up, against the charge, which lay heavy upon him from the beginning, of having forged these Poems. We are now to examine whether his (or rather Rowley's) advocates have added any strength to that defence.

Their arguments are all, I think, drawn either from his want of *ability* for such a forgery, or from his want of *inducement*. To the latter I shall say very little. I doubt whether we have materials for judging of the motives and inducements of so eccentric a genius as CHATTERTON. Besides, the argument proves too much. *Inducement* being necessarily supposed to mean *rational inducement*, the want of that might be urged to prove, that neither ANNIUS of VITERBO, nor CURZIO INGHIRAMI, nor ALPHONSO CICCARELLI, were guilty of the gross and wanton forgeries of which they stand convicted (32).

(32) An account of ANNIUS, or NANNI, of Viterbo, may be seen in BAYLE, v. NANNIUS; and his book, entitled, "*Berosi, Cbaldei sacerdotis reliquorumque consimilis argumenti auctorum de antiquitate Italiae ac totius orbis*," is not uncommon, having gone through several editions. It should be observed, that, though his whole collection was very soon condemned by the Learned as a gross forgery; yet there were not wanting some, besides his Dominican brethren,

It must be observed, that there is no occasion for supposing, with Mr. BRYAN (p. 549), that

there, who could not be persuaded that he had been the forger. They argued from the improbability of his engaging in so absurd a scheme; and from his want of capacity to execute it. *Quod enim per Deum immortalem proprium fieri* (says the Protestant BARTHOLOMÆ, as quoted by BAYLE) *monachum illum is minime tam profunde doctrinæ monachum talia comminisci posse?* If he had told only a few little lies, he would have been universally given up as soon as detected; but the magnitude and extent of his fictions were received as proofs of his veracity. After all, perhaps the true key to the imposture of ANNIUS is in the *Scaligeriana*, p. 139, *ANNIUS Viterbiensis alicui veni parum hominis, qui me, a diis; id est, a seculis, talis habebatur.* A spice of madness I should suspect to be a common ingredient in a great literary impostor; and I think it plain, from various circumstances of CHARLESTON'S personal history, that he had a proper share of that constitutional qualification.

CURZIO INGHIRAMI and ALPHONSO CICCARELLI are best known (to me at least) from a very heated and ingenious little book which was published by the celebrated LEO ALLATIUS, about the year 1640, entitled, *In Antiquitatem Etruscarum fragmenta ab Inghirami et Alphonso Ciccarelli. Additur animadversio in libros Alphonsi Ciccarelli & auctores ab eo confectos.* CURZIO pretended to have dug up various historical collections of *Fasti Etrusci* (an Etruscan *Roll*) written in the style of Sylla. His fictions appear to have been so absurdly and ignorantly contrived, as scarcely to deserve to be learned a refutation. He had even been so intemperate as to produce his pretended original written upon common paper, made of linen rags! The frauds of ALPHONSO wanted no refutation, as he himself had confessed them, being at last executed for the forgery of a modern instrument (*videtur commissi cuiusdam*) under Gregory XIII. ALLATIUS has given a list of more than 120 authors, quoted by CICCARELLI, who either never existed, or at least never wrote any such books as he has ascribed to them.

CHAT-



CHATTERTON set out *his* with an idle scheme of de-  
 ceiving *the whole world*. It is more natural to  
 suppose, that his first essays in forgery were for  
 his own private amusement; the suggestions of an  
 active irregular mind, eking out the scanty supplies  
 of knowledge, which came within its reach, by  
 invention. In the pursuits of ambition, (it has  
 been said, that a man never goes so far, as when  
 he knows not whither he is going; and I suspect  
 that the same may be said of forgery. The fal-  
 lies, in which the imagination indulges itself, at  
 first for amusement only, become by degrees its  
 habitual exercise. Lie is heaped upon lie, till  
 something like a regular history is formed. How-  
 ever ill proportioned and disjointed it may be, the  
 contriver is pleased with his own work; and, after  
 a time, is desirous to procure for it the notice and  
 approbation of others. If the persons, whom he  
 first attempts to deceive, are difficult and incre-  
 dulous, he is obliged, in his own defence, to sup-  
 port his old lies by new fictions. If the fraud  
 passes unsuspected, he is encouraged by that suc-  
 cess to form further plans of deception; especially  
 if he sees any possibility of deriving from them  
 emolument, or consideration (32). By such steps as

(33) Though I apprehend that a prospect of gain can  
 very rarely have been the first motive (in modern times at  
 least) to a literary imposture, I am far from thinking that  
 it may not sometimes have come in aid of the first motive,  
 and induced the impostor to carry on his plan of deception  
 for

these, it seems to me not improbable, that CHATTERTON might at length be led to engage in the idle scheme of deceiving the whole world, of which, at his first setting out, he had no more an idea, than CROMWELL had of aspiring to the crown, when he

for a longer time, and to a greater extent, than he originally proposed. From forging a confirmation by Theodosius of the famous donation of Constantine, and other public histories, relative to the Origin of Cities, &c. which could hardly bring in any profit, Ciccarelli proceeded to apply his invention to a more lucrative branch of business, the supplying of private families with ancestors of rank and splendor. In the same manner, if Chatterton's first tender of his antiquities to Mr. Walpole had met with encouragement; I have no doubt that Rowley's *List of skilled Painters and Carvers* would have been greatly augmented. As it was, the poor youth did contrive to turn his labours to some little profit; and we have good reason to think, that he was much disappointed at not being able to derive more advantage from them. The consideration however which he acquired, as the possessor and decypherer of such valuable manuscripts, must have been very flattering to him; and his vanity must have been supremely gratified by the success of his impositions upon men, greatly his superiors in age and fortune, who were constantly soliciting him to cheat them again. This vanity too (if we may believe a notorious impostor, who lived to repent, and confess his sin) is of itself a forcible motive to deceits of this kind. "My case (says he) was so intricate and perplexing, that it was next to impossible for the ablest heads to have guessed what my motives were, or for what, or by whom, I was induced thus to impose upon mankind. And I am fully persuaded—that the merciful judge of all hearts, knowing mine to be actuated only by mere youthful folly and vanity, without any other dangerous or guilty design than the indulging a wild and frantic passion, did in his great pity prevent my going on." &c. *Memoirs of Psalmanazar*, p. 104.

stood

stood candidate for a seat in the House of Commons. The want of *inducement* therefore is not a defence against an accusation of forgery. The want of *ability* is; but then it should be fully proved. In the present case, it has been urged under three heads, which must be severally considered: 1. a want of *natural parts*, or *genius*; 2. a want of *acquired knowledge*, or *literature*; and, 3. a want of *time*.

Whoever has observed how very equivocal the indications of *parts*, or *genius*, are in the minds of infants, will not be surpris'd that nothing very decisive upon this head should have appeared in the first stage of CHATTERTON'S life. We are told, on one hand, "that he had an early thirst for pre-eminence;" and on the other, "that he was dull in learning his letters." But in truth, the incontestable proof of CHATTERTON'S natural parts is his acquired knowledge. A boy, at a charity-school, where nothing was taught but reading, writing, and accounts, who "began about his tenth year, out of his trifle of pocket-money, to hire books from a circulating library; who, "between his eleventh and twelfth year, wrote a catalogue of the books which he had read, to the number of seventy;" who soon after (34), without

(34) Rather, about the same time. 3. The want of his known productions in verse, entitled, "*Apostate Wilks*"



instruction or encouragement, commenced poet; such a boy must undoubtedly have possessed that consciousness of his own powers, and that eagerness to exert them, which may be termed *genius*. The peculiarities which have been recollected of his temper and appearance; his pride and imperiousness, his reserve, his inequality of spirits, his glooms, his reveries, the dreariness and wildness in his looks, the light in his eyes; though none of them perhaps, singly, any proof of a superiority of parts, yet are all remarkably consistent with such a superiority, and, taken together, would naturally lead the observer to expect something extraordinary (35).

But *genius* alone, it is agreed, could not enable any one to counterfeit antient poetry. A certain portion of *acquired knowledge*, particularly of *history*, *poetry*, and *language*, would also be necessary. We are now to enquire, whether CHATTERTON really wanted such a portion of *acquired knowledge* as was necessary for the composition of these poems. How much was necessary, we must col-

is dated on the 14th of April, 1764, when he was not quite eleven years and six months old. *Love and Madness*, p. 115.

(35) The circumstances here stated of Chatterton's history and character are taken from the reports of his mother and sister, and some of his most intimate acquaintance, who to these points must be considered as competent witnesses. See the Dean of Exeter's Preliminary Dissertation, from p. 3 to p. 12; and Mr. Bryant, p. 525.

lect from an examination of the poems themselves, and not from the learned comments which have been made upon them. We are not bound to suppose, with the DEAN of EXETER [p. 28—9], that the author was *a perfect master of Homer in the original* (36); or, with Mr. BRYANT [p. 563], that

(36) The Dean has taken a great deal of pains [p. 24] to convince certain persons, who, it seems, “have even doubted, whether any English priest of the XVth century was learned enough to read Homer in the original;” but all his quotations from Mr. Warton (some of which he has grievously mis-stated) prove only, that there were Greek books in England, and that the language was not entirely unknown there, from the VIIIth to the XIIIth century. John of Salisbury’s observation, that Homer had no where mentioned the name of *Fortune*; which (the Dean says) “could only result from a most intimate acquaintance with that Poet,” is no proof at all of any such intimacy, as St. Augustine had made the same observation long before, and John of Salisbury probably repeated it from him. The instance of *John Free*, which is most to the Dean’s purpose, might have been made still more apposite, by observing, from Tanner, in v. *PRÆA*, that he resided for some time at Bristol, before he went to Italy. But the truth is, I believe, that his knowledge of the Greek language was acquired *in Italy*, from whence he never returned; so that we may still doubt, whether any priest in England of the XVth century was learned enough to read Homer in the original. If therefore the Dean could have proved, that the author of these Poems was *a perfect master of Homer in the original*, he would have furnished a strong argument for believing, that they were not written in the XVth century. But, to speak candidly, he has not proved any such thing. The points of resemblance, upon which he has most insisted, are in *families*, of rocks and torrents, and lightning and earthquakes, and wolves and lions, which have been the common-places of poetry from the time of

he was "a person of much reading; one, who was conversant both in ancient and modern literature." Mr. BRYANT would prove this "from the frequent allusions to ancient ceremonies and customs" (I wish he had specified them); "and from the references to Greek and Roman authors" (I see none in the (37) Poems): "also from a

Homer to the present. Whenever he attempts to trace any less equivocal marks of imitation, he only reminds us of the circumstances of *likeness*, which a lively imagination was able to discover between *Macedon* and *Monmouth*. See particularly the note on the *Battle of Hastings*, N<sup>o</sup> 1. ver. 181.

(37) I cannot suppose that Mr. Bryant would have us consider the mention of *Nestor* and *Homer's Martial Maid* as any proof of a familiarity with Greek and Roman authors; though the Dean of Exeter has observed seriously, as it seems, upon ver. 373 of the *Battle of Hastings*, N<sup>o</sup> 2, "It is a circumstance in favour of our author's acquaintance with the *Iliad*, that he mentions more than once the name of *Homer*, ver. 400 and 442, as well as those of *Minerva* and *Nestor*." Except these passages, and the bare mention of *Virgilius* in *Lydgate's Answer*, I cannot see a single reference or allusion to any Greek or Roman author in the Poems; a circumstance, which I have always considered as affording good ground to believe, that they were entirely composed by Chatterton. We know that he, from his education, was necessarily a stranger to ancient literature; but it would be contrary to all experience, that a learned priest, as Rowley is supposed to have been, should write four thousand verses without much stronger and more frequent proofs of his acquaintance with *classical History* and *Mythology* than are to be found in the Poems. The QUOTATIONS in the *Sermon upon the Holy Spirit*, and in the *Story of John Lamington*, will be taken notice of below, and shewn to have lain within the reach of even Chatterton's very limited erudition.



number of words borrowed from the old French, Saxon, and Scottish languages." Of that number I have shewn how ignorantly many are used, and I hope to shew how easily they were all borrowed. In short, it is my opinion, that very little *learning* was necessary for the composition of the Poems attributed to ROWLEY. Whether CHATTERTON was actually possessed of that little, we should know with more precision, if the Catalogue above-mentioned were extant of the books which he had read before he was twelve years old. As they are said to have amounted to the number of *seventy*, chiefly in History and Divinity; we may presume, that there was at least one HISTORY OF ENGLAND among them. We are told, from his mother, that, before he left school, he borrowed from three different booksellers *such books as their shops produced*; and particularly that Mr. Green, who had the largest collection of any bookseller in Bristol, furnished him with SPEGHT'S CHAUCER, the Glossary to which he is said to have transcribed for his own use. It is surely not improbable, that, in these researches, he should have laid hold on some elementary treatise on *Heraldry*, and such Introductions to *English Antiquity* as CAMDEN'S REMAINS and VERSTEGAN. If he should be thought less likely to have travelled through CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, he might at least have made himself master of those parts of it which relate to Bristol

and

and the neighbourhood; or he might have met with those parts extracted to his hand in some topographical history (38). He must probably have

(38) I have now before me two numbers of a work, entitled, "*Bristolliæ, or Memoirs of the City of Bristol*," by Andrew Hooke, Esq; native thereof, printed in 1748 and 1749. At the end of the first number, which contains a *Dissertation on the Antiquity of Bristol*, is subjoined "a transcript of the whole paragraph relating to Bristol," from Camden's *Britannia*. I think it probable, that Chatterton was misled by Camden to consider Canynge as the founder of Redeliff Church. [See before, p. 98.] From Camden too he probably learned the title of *Robert Consul* of Gloucester; though Mr. Bryant, in his article of ROBERT CON-  
SUL, p. 326, chooses rather to authenticate that title from Leland, Matthew Paris, and Henry of Huntingdon, and adds: "Were it not for these fortunate attestations, the account of a person named *Consul* in Rowley would have been looked upon as a fiction." Is not this another instance of that practice which I have mentioned above, p. 113, n. 23? But, beside these *Extracts from Camden*, there are many other passages in this work of Mr. Hooke, of which Chatterton seems to have made use, as will appear more fully, whenever the "*Discourse on Bristowe*," attributed to Turgot and Rowley, shall be published. I will only take notice here of one circumstance.

Mr. Bryant, in his article BITHRICUS, p. 336, has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that such an eminent person could not fail of being present at the battle of Hasting. I do not know (says he) of any history to authenticate this; but, *what is extraordinary*, he is thus represented in the Poem concerning that battle. And, *what is still more remarkable*, he is introduced at the head of the very people from Bristol." Mr. Bryant goes on to call this "a wonderful coincidence of circumstance, in confirmation of the history afforded us by the poet." But, if we suppose Chatterton to have read *Bristolliæ*, we shall see nothing wonderful in this circumstance. For in the second number of that work, the History of Bristol, from the Conquest to

been impressed with an early admiration of CANYNGE, by the two monuments erected to his memory in Redcliff Church. The principal outlines of CANYNGE's life appear in his *Epitaph* [see before, p. 112]; and the names of other benefactors to Bristol, such as FITZHARDING, BURTON, GAUNT, &c. might easily have been collected from buildings and inscriptions still remaining. If there are any passages of TRUE HISTORY in the Poems, which could not have been drawn from one or other of these sources, they have escaped my notice (39). With respect to what may be properly

the second year of Henry I. is digested in the form of Annals, the names of the *King of England* and of the *Lord of Brissowe* being prefixed to each year; and to the year of the Conquest is prefixed the name of BRICTRIC, Earl of Gloucester, as LORD OF BRISTOWE. What so natural as to introduce the *Lord of Brissowe* at the head of the people from Bristol? The greatest part of the learning which Mr. Bryant has collected, with relation to the personal history of *Brictric*, is to be found in the notes upon *Bristol-lia*; but I pass all that over, as I cannot find that Chatterton has made any use of it, except perhaps to borrow the names of *Algar* and *Ailward*.

I must add, that, as Chatterton might have read those parts of *Cambden's Britannia* which relate to Bristol in this pamphlet, so I apprehend, that he might have found every other part of the *Britannia*, of which he can be supposed to have made any use, in some of those *County Histories*, which have of late years been repeated over and over again in the *Magazines*.

(39) I have said *passages of true history*. As to those "dark hints and oblique references" which Mr. Bryant [p. 402] considers as "a proof of the antiquity of these Poems," I have a better right, I think, to set them all down  
for



called the POETRY of them, CHATTERTON is allowed by Mr. BRYANT [p. 1363] to have been "conversant in MILTON, SHAKESPEARE, and

for airy nothings, the workmanship of a bold but uninformed imagination. Mr. Bryant has observed, p. 471, that Chatterton, in his *African Elegues*, "not being acquainted with the names of the principal places, with the customs and religion of the natives, nor with the produce of the country—has substituted a number of strange appellations, which his fancy in its wantonness suggested." But why may not his fancy have operated with the same wantonness in the Poems attributed to Rowley? Why are we to suppose a better foundation in history for "the overthrow of Standrip tower, Tinyan's necromancy, the goats of Conyan, and the souls of the fairy-stricken people, which are said to wander to the dike of Offa," than for the *Inca Rbadal upon the coast of Calabar, the God Chalma, Lorbar's cave, the sacred oak and mystic trees on the coast of Guinea, and the African river Tiber, running through the deserts of Arabia*? In another place, p. 583, Mr. Bryant asks, "How could he (Chatterton) know any thing of the *Blue Briton*, and *Tinyan*? of *Powis-land* and *Matraval*, and the history of *Howel ap Jevah*?" It is easy to answer, that he might have met with *Powis-land* and *Matraval*, in a passage of Cambden, which Mr. Bryant himself has quoted, p. 229, or probably in any other description of Montgomeryshire; and the name of *Howel ap Jevah* he might have found, where Mr. Bryant has found it, in the common histories of Wales. But the history of *Howel ap Jevah*, who is introduced in the *Battle of Hastings*, N<sup>o</sup> 1. I conceive to have been as mere a fiction as that of his friend *Mervyn ap Tewdor*, of whom even Mr. Bryant, it seems, has been able to discover only half the name, p. 391. Of the history therefore of these imaginary personages, Chatterton knew just as much as he did of the *Blue Briton*, and *Tinyan*, &c. &c. &c. and I would humbly advise his learned commentators not to be too desirous of knowing more, about any of them, than he has been pleased to tell us.

THOMSON." How infinitely might the genius of SHAKESPEARE have been brought forward by a similar advantage? But it is probable, that CHATTERTON had dipped into many other of our best poets; and, however contemptuously we may talk and think of *Magazines* and *Miscellanies* (in which much of his reading is said "to have been expended"), I conceive, that a single volume of any one of our *Magazines* would have furnished a more instructive school for English poetry, better models of versification and composition, than a true ROWLEY, in the XVth century, could have found in all the libraries of the kingdom. Whatever stock of antient LANGUAGE may be supposed to have been wanted for the *varnish* of these Poems, the whole might have been derived from very common dictionaries.

The third and last species of inability, which is urged in exculpation of CHATTERTON from the charge of forgery, is a want of *time*. But who can determine how much *time* was necessary for the composition of these Poems? In the motions of bodies, where the velocity is known, the space passed through shews the time of the passage; but the velocity of mind is always indeterminate, and therefore we cannot safely argue from the length of a poem to the precise time employed in composing it. We have been lately told by respectable authority [Warton on Pope, H. 83], that

that DAYDEN's ode to St. Cecilia was the work of one night. STATIUS has informed us himself of what is by no means incredible, that his *Epithalamium* to *Stella*, consisting of 272 hexameter verses, was written by him in two days. At that rate the *Georgics* of VIRGIL might have been finished in sixteen days, and the *Æneis* in less than three months. It will not be disputed, I believe, that the style and manner of these Poems are rather Statian than Virgilian. If, instead of 136 verses, the author should be supposed to have written only twelve, one day with another, the quantity of poetry attributed to ROWLEY might have been composed in about a twelve-month. But it is probable, that a lad of a vigorous invention, who had so much leisure for prosecuting the studies of his own choice (40), would have made a much

(40) We are told by his sister [Milles, p. 11], "that he had little of his master's business to do, sometimes not two hours in a day, which gave him an opportunity to pursue his genius." She adds, that she had heard him frequently say, "that he found he studied best toward the full of the moon; and would often sit up all night and write by moon-light." The circumstance of his sleeping very little is confirmed by the evidence, collected by the author of *Love and Madness*. Whether this *wakefulness* should be considered as the cause or the effect of a disordered mind, I leave to be determined by the Faculty; it certainly added much to the *time* of his active life. The Dean of Exeter indeed contends [p. 17], "that two years and nine months spent with Mr. Lambert (part of which was employed in copying books of precedents for his master), was not more than sufficient for the business of *transcribing* these parchments,



more rapid progress; so that not only the poetry, but the prose also, and other devices, attributed

to him, *endeavouring to understand their contents, reading Chaucer, transcribing Speght's Glossary, and acquiring a competent knowledge of the meaning of ancient words:*" not to mention the hours dedicated to other studies and amusements. And Mr. Bryant has insisted strongly [p. 499 and 549] upon the time which must have been necessary "for *understanding and transcribing the numerous manuscripts.*" But, if my hypothesis be well-founded, that Chatterton never was possessed of any manuscripts whatsoever of Rowley, all the time, which he is supposed to have expended in *transcribing and endeavouring to understand them*, might have been saved, and applied to the *composition* of the Poems, &c. under the name of Rowley, and the *forgery* of the few pretended originals. How much time he should be supposed to have spent in *reading Chaucer, and in acquiring a competent knowledge of the meaning of ancient words*, I cannot precisely determine. I have proved, I think, that he never had acquired a competent knowledge of the meaning of ancient words; and I cannot find any marks of his having been a diligent reader of Chaucer. The two quotations relating to Minstrels [in the *Antiquity of Christmas Games*, Chatterton Miscell. p. 133] are very likely to have been taken at second-hand; and a third passage, which he has pretended to cite from Chaucer, I suspect to have been forged by himself. He explains the word *abrodden*, E. I. 6. to mean *abruptly*; and adds, "So Chaucer, *Syke he abredden dyd attourne.*" Till I see such a line in Chaucer's works, I shall not believe that it exists there.

That he spent some time in *transcribing Speght's Glossary*, or rather, perhaps, in *compiling a Glossary from Speght and other books*, I have no doubt. I am even willing to allow a double portion of time for this operation more than the Dean seems desirous to crave, as he has omitted to state one half of the labour and difficulty of the undertaking. He has stated Chatterton's Glossary to have been a mere *transcript* from Speght's, p. 507; but, according

to ROWLEY, might have been fabricated within the year (41).

ing to the information, which I received several years ago from Mr. Barrett, and which he has been so obliging as to confirm to me very lately, the Glossary, which Chatterton had compiled, was in *two parts*. The first contained "*the old words with the modern English*, and the second *the modern English with the old words*, both alphabetically." As the idea of this *second part* must have been quite new, the execution must have been proportionably troublesome; and therefore we may justly wonder, that the Dean, whose point was to employ as much of Chatterton's time as he could in any thing but forgery, should have intirely omitted all mention of this *second* Glossary, in which a number of *modern English words* were disposed *alphabetically*, and *interpreted* (if it may be so called) *by old words* of the same signification. Was he apprehensive, that this Glossary, though not itself a forgery, would be deemed by every one to have been an *instrument prepared for forgery*? In our common Latin and English Dictionaries, the part in which the English words are placed first, is said to be *for the purpose of assisting persons in translating English into Latin*; and for what other purpose could this Glossary have possibly been compiled, but that of assisting the compiler *in translating modern English into old*? Whether the solicitude, which Chatterton expressed repeatedly in his Letters to his Sister, to have this Glossary sent after him to London [Miles, p. 507], should be ascribed to a consciousness of the inference which might be drawn from it, or to a desire of using it in new forgeries, I will not pretend to determine. When the Dean says, "that Mr. Barrett copied it, and that the transcript is still in his possession," he is not quite accurate. Mr. Barrett, unluckily, copied only the *first* part; but his testimony, as to the existence and nature of the *second* part, cannot be disputed, and ought not to have been suppressed.

(41) We have a proof of the rapidity, with which Chatterton could compose, in a fanciful will, with some satirical verses prefixed; "which will and verses (as Mr. Bryant in-

forms

We cannot pronounce with certainty how soon CHATTERTON might have conceived the idea of forging either poetry or prose, and of ascribing the forgery to ROWLEY. If we believe Mr. THISTLETHWAITE [Milles, p. 455], he commenced forger as early as he is known to have commenced poet, in the summer of 1764, in the twelfth year of his age; though at that time the name of ROWLEY is not said to have been mentioned. But there is no necessity to assign so early a beginning to CHATTERTON'S love of forgery. The summer of 1767, when he was between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and when he is generally agreed to have first discovered the famous parchments, which his father had taken from Redcliff Church, would be early enough for my purpose; but I must observe, that, before this discovery of the parchments, according to his

forms us, p. 546) were made at a very solemn season, when he purposed to put an end to his life."—"Upon the cover of the book, which contained in his hand-writing the will and verses, was the following memorandum: *All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock, Saturday, in the utmost distress of mind.*" By this (says Mr. Bryant) is meant, between eleven and two at midnight; and, as it elsewhere appears, upon the 14th of April, 1770." Mr. Bryant has quoted part of the will and some of the verses, l. c. [See also p. 560, and Milles, p. 34.] In the transcript, which I saw, there were *fifty-three verses and a half*, and about *seven pages* in quarto of prose, each, as I remember, containing about *twenty lines*; the whole of which, both verse and prose, according to the memorandum, was written within *THREE HOURS, in the utmost distress of mind!*

sister's



filter's account, "soon after his apprenticeship," which commenced on the 1st of July, 1767, "he wrote a Letter to an old Schoolmate, a collection of all the *hard words* in the English language, and requested him to answer it [Milles, p. 10]. This circumstance, I think, argues such a proficiency in *antique lore*, as may fairly lead us to infer, that he might at least have been qualifying himself for the forgery of old poetry from the beginning of 1767, or even an earlier period. Upon that supposition, we may account for his joy upon the first discovery of the parchments, and for the eagerness with which he is said to have been "perpetually rummaging and ransacking every corner of the house for more [Milles, p. 7]. He was probably at first in hope of finding something which might gratify his taste for antiquarian knowledge; and, when that failed, he was still desirous to have the parchments thought valuable, from the convenient pretext which they afforded him of putting off any fiction of his own as transcribed from them (42). It does not ap-

(42) It deserves remark, that the learned persons, who wish to have Chatterton considered as merely the transcriber of these Poems, have not been able, after all their inquiries, to produce a single witness, who has given a satisfactory attestation to the point of having seen him in the act of copying the original parchments. The attestation, which I should think satisfactory to this point, would be that of a person, who had not merely seen Chatterton *with parchments lying before him*, which *he said* he was or had been copying;

fear that he parted with any of these pretended transcripts out of his own hands till he sent to the copying; but who had also compared the pretended copy with the parchments, and found them to agree. It would be necessary too, that such a person should be able to give a general description, at least, of the *size*, and *form*, and *contents* of the parchment which he saw copied; for what additional weight of evidence would accrue from the testimony of any one, who should have seen Chatterton sitting in great form and copying the *Accoutie of W. Canynge's feaste*, or any other of the fragments which he had forged himself? [See before, p. 134—9, n. 29, 30.] But not one of the witnesses, who have been produced to prove the copying of the parchments by Chatterton, pretends to have compared the copy with the parchment; (indeed it may be doubted whether any one of them was capable of making such a comparison;) not one of them has described the *size*, and *form*, and *contents* of the parchment supposed to have been copied. Even in their vague and delusive sense of the word *copying*, Mrs. Newton, Chatterton's sister; "does not remember to have ever seen him *copying* any of the manuscripts, *excepting once; at which time she came upon him unexpectedly at his master's office.*" [Bryant, p. 522.] Mr. Capel "often called in upon him when he was writing; and he assured me (says Mr. Bryant, p. 523), that he had *at times* seen him *copying* the manuscripts." But when Mr. Capel was asked, "*if they were parchments*," he answered, with proper caution, that he could not after such an interval take upon him to determine about them; —he remembered very well that they lay in heaps, and in great confusion, and seemed rumpled and stained; and near them were the papers upon which Chatterton was transcribing." The next witness, Mr. Cary, who is said to have been one of Chatterton's most intimate friends, appears to have been so far from having seen him in the act of copying Rowley's manuscripts, that he never saw any such manuscripts. These are his words, in his Letter published by Mr. Bryant, p. 526: "Not having any taste myself for ancient poetry, I do not recollect his having ever  
shewn

*Press the Account of the Ceremonies observed at the opening of the Old Bridge, a little before the rift of*

shewn them (Rowley's manuscripts) to me; but he often mentioned them, &c." We want no evidence of Chatterton's having mentioned Rowley's manuscripts. I go on therefore to Mr. Bryant's last witness to this point, Mr. Smith. He, indeed, as he says [Bryant, p. 528], "had seen the manuscripts—a considerable number of them; perhaps a dozen. They were upon vellum." And he describes them thus: "Many, as I remember very well, had the heads of Kings and Popes, or something in that way, upon them; and some were as broad as the bottom of your chair." This description, by the way, would lead one to suspect that these manuscripts were Bulls, Commissions under the Great Seal, or something in that way, rather than Poetry. But Mr. Smith had also "seen Chatterton transcribing these manuscripts, often, very often, at Mr. Lambert's office; and he has frequently read to me there what he had just transcribed. *But I had no taste for such things.*" This last declaration of Mr. Smith's, I presume, prevented his examiner from asking him, what part of Rowley's works Chatterton ever read to him, and how he knew, *that it had just been transcribed.* This question was the more necessary, as Mr. Smith, in another part of his evidence, when he is giving an account of Chatterton's reading these manuscripts to him, concludes thus: "I recollect very assuredly, that he had a parchment in his hand at the very time when he gave me this description; *but whether he read this history out of that parchment, I am not certain.*"

Beside these witnesses, produced by Mr. Bryant, to prove that Chatterton had been seen transcribing, the Dean of Exeter has published the testimony of a Mr. Thistlethwaite, which, it must be confessed, goes nearer to the mark. His words are [Milles, p. 457], "During the year 1768, at divers visits I made him, I found him employed in copying Rowley, from what I then considered, and do still consider, as authentic and undoubted originals.—Amongst others, I perfectly remember to have read several stanzas copied from the *Death of Sir Charles Bowdin*, the original  
also



October, 1768; but at that time he had probably a considerable stock, as the greatest part of the Pseudo-Rowleian poetry and prose was given out by him in the latter months of that year, and the first half of 1769. He continued to deal out his treasures, though more sparingly, during the remainder of 1769, and as long as till the 4th of July 1770, near three years from the discovery of the parchments. The two first years only give double the time, which has been calculated above to be necessary for the composition of every thing, which has appeared under the name of ROWLEY.

So much I have thought necessary to promise, in answer to the facts and arguments which have been urged to prove, generally, that the Poems neither were, nor could have been, written by CHATTERTON. I hope I have made it sufficiently clear, that no impossibility, either physical or moral, prevented him from writing them. I shall

also of which then lay before him." But here again we are left in the dark, how Mr. Thistlethwaite knew that the stanzas which he read had been copied from the original, which, he says, then lay before Chatterton. Did he compare them together? If he did not, his testimony is of no more weight than Mr. Smith's, &c. If he did, and found them to agree, we must suppose that Chatterton had taken the pains to forge an original of those stanzas for the special purpose of deceiving Mr. Thistlethwaite, as it does not appear that he ever produced, or promised to produce, to any one else, any part of the *Deeds of Sir Charles Bawdin* in the original.

now

now proceed to shew that they actually were written by him.

And here (after a long digression, but, I hope, not improperly interposed) I shall take up the vindication of the *latter part* of my APPENDIX, in which I endeavoured to prove, from the *internal evidence* of the LANGUAGE only, that these Poems WERE WRITTEN ENTIRELY BY THOMAS CHATTERTON. My argument was founded upon this principle, that, if a person produces a composition, which nobody but himself can interpret, he must be considered as the author. I proved, as I thought, in many instances, that these Poems were inexplicable, except by the false and unwarranted interpretations which CHATTERTON had annexed to them. If I had stopped there, the consequence would have followed inevitably, that he was the author; but, in tracing his misinterpretations to their sources, I made an unlucky mistake, which the DEAN of EXETER has *refuted* [p. 506] as ostentatiously as if it affected the main argument. I *supposed*, that the interpretations annexed to the Poems were almost all taken from SKINNER'S ETYMOLOGICON; but the DEAN, with more probability, I confess, *supposes*, that they were rather taken from SPEIGHT'S GLOSSARY to CHAUCER. As at present advised, I shall *suppose*, that they were taken from a Lexicographer, of whom, I am ashamed to say, I had never heard the name

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till very lately, Mr. JOHN KERSEY, *Philobibl.* as he signs himself; who with laudable industry has collected almost all the *old* words, I believe, which are to be found either in SPEGHT or SKINNER, and has generally with much fidelity copied the interpretations assigned to them by those two Glossarists. Wherever therefore CHATTERTON is supposed in the APPENDIX to have been misled by SKINNER, I beg leave to substitute KERSEY instead of SKINNER; and, in that case, I flatter myself that the main argument will be so far from receiving any detriment, that it will be considerably improved, as it will be manifest that the impostor, who wrote these Poems, lived not only since SKINNER, but since KERSEY (43).

(43) Kersey published his Dictionary in 1708. The size of the volume and the lowness of its price make it very likely to have fallen into the hands of Chatterton; and there are some peculiarities in it, not to be found, I believe, in other Dictionaries, which he seems to have copied. Some of them will be pointed out below. At the same time, I must beg the reader to remember, that my argument by no means requires me to prove, that Chatterton in every instance followed Kersey, and him only. Many of Kersey's old words, with their interpretations, are taken from Speght, whom Chatterton is allowed to have studied; and many have been repeated very exactly by Coles and Bailey, to both of whose books he may easily be supposed to have had access. It is sufficient for my argument, that Chatterton should be proved to have concurred (not accidentally) with some older writer in unwarranted interpretations of various words, of many of which even the use is unauthorized.



We are first to consider the instances of words and interpretations, which I suppose to have been immediately derived from *blunders* of KERSEY.

ALL a BOON. E. III. 41.

AUMERES. E. III. 25.

These two words, the Dean says [p. 507], *have been already explained*; and, for my own part, I have nothing to add to my former observations upon them [see above, p. 32 and 35], except to state both articles, as they appear in KERSEY. AUMER, in SPEGHT, is rendered *Amber*.

All-a-bone, (O.) a made Request.

Aumers, (O.) Welt, Skirt, or Border.

BAWSIN, Æ. 57. *Large*, Chatterton. M. 101. *Huge, bulky*. Chatterton.

The manner in which I have declined the determination of *the precise meaning* of this word, might have led the DEAN to suspect, that I was not so entirely unacquainted, as he supposes, with that passage, which he has quoted from a ballad printed among Stowe's additions to CHAUCER's works. I must beg leave to say, that it is *not* explained by SPEGHT in the same manner as by CHATTERTON. SPEGHT's explanation is—"Baw-sin, bigge: some say it is a Badger or Graye." He evidently doubted what the true meaning of the word was. SKINNER, who came after him, has made two words out of one, a substantive and

an adjective. The former he interprets *Tarus*, *Meles*, upon the authority of JULIAN BARNES; and to the latter he has assigned the *dubious* interpretation of SPEGHT, "*magnus, grandis*," as if it had been *positive*. But CHATTERTON probably followed KERSEY, who has followed SKINNER, in giving both senses as equally authentic. "*Batusin*, (O.) gross, big; also the Badger, a wild beast."

BRONDEOUS. E. II. 24. *furiosus*. Chatterton.  
BRONDED. H. 2. 558. BRONDEYNG. A. 704.  
BURLIE BRONDE. G. 7. *Fury, Anger*. Chatterton.  
See also H. 2. 664.

I should have imagined, that every body must have seen that these passages were cited by me, to shew that the author and interpreter of these Poems (whether one or two persons) had fallen into the same mistake of supposing BRONDE to signify *Fury*, and had formed various derivatives from it in that sense. One must therefore be surprised, that Mr. BRYANT [p. 120] should not make the least attempt to justify that signification of BRONDE (*Fury*), to which I had objected; and which is absolutely necessary in most of those passages, and not inconsistent with any one of them; but should rather employ several pages to prove, what I had allowed, that BRONDE has a signification (*Sword*), which can be applied to make sense of only one of those passages. In *burlie bronde*, G. 7, it may be construed either *sword* or *fury*; but which is the

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the most probable construction will appear from another passage, H. 2. 664.

Campynon's swerd in *burly-brande* did dree; where it *must* be construed *fury*, as the DEAN of EXETER has rendered it.

But, if this sense of *bronde* and *burly-brande* be, as I contend it is, totally unauthorized, from whence did the author and interpreter of these Poems derive his, or their, use of it? I answer, Probably, from the two following articles in KERSEY:

*Brond*, (O.) Fury, Rage.

*Burly-brand*, (O.) a huge Sword, also great Fury.

In the first article KERSEY has only copied a blunder of SPEGHT and SKINNER. In the second, to a right interpretation of theirs he has added a blunder of his own (44), which has been copied in the Poems. The inference is plain.

*BURLED*. M. 20. *Armed*. Chatterton.

The DEAN of EXETER says, that this word is "so explained on SPEGHT's authority, and justifi-

(44) I observe, however, that he might have taken it from PHILLIPS. As I find that it requires a stronger memory than I am possessed of, or a more unremitting attention than I can bestow upon so many dictionaries, to allot every blunder to its original author, I must beg, when I speak of a blunder as Kersey's, to be understood to mean only, that it is to be found in Kersey, without warranting that it is not to be found in some older dictionary.



fied by the several passages in the Poems in which it occurs." But the question is, whether the word can be justified by any passage of any author, except the writer of the Poems. KERSEY has given the same explanation of it: "*Burled, (O.) Armed.*" I am still much inclined to believe that there is no such word.

**BYSMARE.** M. 95. *Bewildered, curious.* Chatterton. **BYSMARELIE.** Lc. 26. *Curiously.* Chatterton. See also p. 285. ver. 141. **BISMARDE.**

These words, as the DEAN says [p. 509], have already been considered [see above, p. 43]. I only add, that KERSEY has the following article:

**Bismare, (O.)** Curiosity.

**CALKE.** G. 25. *cast.* Chatterton. **CALKED.** E. 1, 49. *cast out, ejected.* Chatterton.

As the DEAN of EXETER seems to give up this word, by proposing to alter it in both these passages, and MR. BRYANT has said nothing for it, I think my conjecture much strengthened, that it had its original from a *misprint* in the *Frankleines Tale* of CHAUCER, [ver. 11596. See the APPENDIX, p. 328.] The advocates for the genuineness of the Poems may say, however, that there was the same error in the Mf. copy of CHAUCER, which ROWLEY read!

The use of the word in the Poems seems rather derived from KERSEY or SPEGHT than from SKINNER, as I had supposed.

**Calked,**

**Calked**, cast. **SPEIGHT**.—**Calked**, exp. cast, *credo*, cast up. **SKINNER**.—**Calked**, (O.) cast up, or cast out. **KERSEY**.

We have now gone through the words and interpretations, which I had pointed out as derived from the *blunders* of **SKINNER**, but which I have just craved leave to consider as taken immediately from **KERSEY**. With the same indulgence, I shall proceed to consider the words and interpretations, which I had supposed to be founded upon **CHATTERTON**'s misapprehensions of passages in **SKINNER**, as taken in like manner from **KERSEY**, who had himself misapprehended **SKINNER**, or some other Lexicographer.

**ALYSE**. *l. e.* 29. *G.* 180. *Allow*. **Chatterton**. That this interpretation is erroneous has been shewn above [p. 24]. **CHATTERTON** probably took it from **KERSEY**. "**Alised**, (O.) allowed." From whence **KERSEY** took it is less material; but I am still inclined to believe that it was formed originally from a mistaken reading of the article **Alised** in **SKINNER**. The very distinct significations of the two words are thus stated by **VERSTEGAN**, p. 227: **Alised**. Allowed, Licensed.—**Alise**. Release.—**Alised**. Released.

**BESTOIKER**. *Æ.* 91. *Deceiver*. **Chatterton**. See also *Æ.* 1064.

Mr. BRYANT allows [p. 108], that this word has been put by mistake for *Beswiker*. I wonder that he, who appears to have had KERSEY at hand, did not advert to the following article in him: "To *Beswike*, (O.) to betray," which, I am persuaded, misled CHATTERTON. But then there would have been no room for the inference, "that this young man could not read the characters, with which he was engaged." I cannot see that the letters in SKINNER are so well defined, but that KERSEY might as easily have been led into such a mistake by them as by those of a manuscript.

BLAKE. Æ. 178. 407. *Naked*. Chatterton.

BLAKIED. E. 111. 4. *Naked, original*. Chatterton.

The attempts which have been made to justify these words, and the interpretation of them, have been considered above [p. 39]. I shall only add here, that CHATTERTON probably followed KERSEY; "*Blake*, (O.) naked;" and that KERSEY's interpretation probably originated from a misapprehension of that passage of SKINNER, which I have quoted in the APPENDIX, p. 329.

HANCELLED. G. 49. *Cut off, destroyed*. Chatterton.

There was no occasion, I find, to send CHATTERTON to SKINNER for this word, as KERSEY would



would have furnished him with the same ambiguous interpretation of it. "*hanceled*, (N.) cut off." It is needless to observe, how very different *cut off*, as explained by SKINNER to mean *cut off by way of specimen or sample*, is from *destroyed*, the sense affixed to *hanceled* in the Poems (45).

SHAP. Æ. 34. G. 18. *Fate*. Chatterton. SHAP-SCURGED. Æ. 603. *Fate-scourged*. Chatterton.

The DEAN of EXETER observes, that "*SHAP* is objected to *only* because it is used as a noun." (He should have said, *as a noun*, signifying *Fate*.) But, if so, why has he accumulated so many instances of the verb SHAPEN, with its participles? At last indeed he gives us one instance of the

(45) If there be any such word as *hanceled*, which I much doubt, the true sense of it can only be determined by the passage in which it is supposed to have been used; for Skinner plainly knew nothing more of it, than that he had found it in Speght's Glossary. But in that Glossary there are two articles so very similar, that I cannot help suspecting one to be an erroneous repetition of the other. "*Hamled*, d. *cut off*, abated."—" *Hamled*, *cut off*." *Hamled* is an authorised word, and occurs in Trollop, 11. 964.

Algate o fote is *hamled* of thy sorowe.  
It answers properly to our word *hamstring*; but, in this passage, might be rendered *cut off*. [*Abated* seems to be the interpretation of a various reading *Lissed*, mentioned in *Gloss. Ur.*] But it would not be easy, I am persuaded, to find the word *hanceled* in Chaucer, or in any of those writers published with him; and accordingly I observe that it is omitted in *Gloss. Ur.* As Speght's Glossary is not arranged in exact alphabetical order, he has frequently repeated the same word in two articles.

noun

noun *SCHAP*, from Bishop DOUGLAS, p. 180. v. 12; where *fato* is rendered *By werdis schap*; which, the DEAN says, means *Parcarum fato*. If he had put it in English, *By the fates' fate*, every one must have seen, that *schap* in that passage does not signify *Fate*, but the *shaping*, or *disposition*, of the Fates. Accordingly in the very next passage, quoted by the DEAN from HICKES, Gram. A. S. p. 112, *urdi giscapu* (a Franco-Theotiscan expression, answering exactly to *werdis schap* in Scottish) is rendered *Parcarum decreta*. I shall not follow the DEAN into Scandinavia. Till some authority nearer home is produced, I must be of opinion, that CHATTERTON, in this word as in most others, copied KERSEY, who has this article; "*Schap*, (O.) Fate, Destiny;" and that KERSEY's error was probably owing to his misapprehension of SKINNER. See the Appendix, p. 330.

The foregoing are the instances, which were particularly applied in the latter part of the APPENDIX to prove, that many words, with their interpretations, in these Poems, were copied from the blunders of another writer; and consequently, that the Poems are of a later date than that writer. When two men agree in using a set of fictitious words, or gibberish, which none but themselves can understand, and in affixing to known words the same fanciful and unauthorized significations, it must be presumed, that one of them copied from

from the other. But that KERSEY should have ever seen the Poems, cannot be supposed. It follows, therefore, that the author of the Poems copied from KERSEY.

This will appear still more plainly, if we compare the explanations given by CHATTERTON of those words, to which I have objected in the former part of the APPENDIX, as *either not ancient, or not used in their ancient sense*, with the explanations of the same or similar words in KERSEY. I will state them alphabetically.

ARESSIE; *Humility*. C.—Arested, (O.) cast down, humbled. K.

ABORNE; *Burnished*. C.—To Born, (O.) to burnish. K.

ACROOL; *Faintly*. C.—To Crool, (O.) to mutter or growl. K.

ADENTE, ADENTED; *Fastened, annexed*. C.—To Aent, (O.) to fasten. K.

ADRAMES; *Churls*. C.—Araming, (O.) Churlish. K.

ALEDGE; *Idly*. C.—Aledge, *Ease*, Chaucer. K.

ALL A BOON; *A manner of asking a favour*. C.—All-a-bone, (O.) a made request. K.

ALYSE; *Allow*. C.—Alised, (O.) allowed. K.

ASTERTE; *Neglected, or passed by*. C.—Astert, (O.) passed. K.

AUMERE;



**AMERE**; *Borders of gold or silver. A loose robe or mantle.* C.—**AMERE**, (O.) *Welt, Skirt, or Border.* K.

**BLAKE**; *Naked.* C.—**Blake**, (O.) *naked.* K.

**BODYKYN**; *Body, substance.* C.—**BOUGHIN**, (O.) *a little Body.* K.

**BORDEL**; *Cottage.* C.—**Borbel**, (S.) *a small Cottage; also a stew, or bawdy-house.* K.

**BYSMARE**; *Bewildered, curious.* **BISMARELIE**; *Curiously.* C.—**Bismare**, (O.) *Curiosity.* K.

**CONTAKE**; *Dispute.* **CONTEKE**; *Confuse, contend with.* C.—**Conteke**, (O.) *Contention, or Strife.* K.

**DERNE**; *Cruel.* **DERNIE**; *Woful, lamentable.* C.—**Dern**, (O.) *sad, solitary; also barbarous or cruel.* K.

**DROORE**; *Modesty.* C.—**Drurg**, (O.) *Sobriety, Modesty.* K.

**FONS**; **FONNES**; *Fancien, or Devices.* C.—**Fonnes**, (O.) *Devices.* K.

**KNOPPED**; *Fastened, chained, congealed.* C.—**Knopped**, (O.) *tied, laced.* K.

**LITHIE**; *Humble.* C.—**Lithy**, (O.) *humble.* K.

From two of these words, **ABORNE** and **ACROOL**, which differed a little from their originals, I took occasion to remark, that “it was usual with **CHATERTON** to prefix a *t* to words of all sorts, *without any regard to custom or propriety*,” and I referred

to the following instances in the Alphabetical Gloss,  
*Abeune, Abreave, Acome, Adigne, Agrame, Agreme,  
 Alest, &c.* Of these instances the DEAN has at-  
 tempted to justify only one, viz. *Agrame*, or  
*Agreme*, which, he says, occurs in the *Plowman's  
 Tale* of CHAUCER, v. 2283.

Then wol the officers be *agrame*.  
 But I wonder he did not see, that *agrame* is a  
*participle*, and therefore gives no countenance to  
 the use of *Agrame*, as a *noun*; in the Poems. To  
 take an obvious example; *Agrieved* is a regular  
 word; but no one, I believe, ever met with such  
 a compound *noun* as *Agrief*.

The DEAN goes on to justify his author, ge-  
 nerally, in prefixing *a* to words of all sorts, from  
 the practice of CHAUCER, and the observations re-  
 lating to this prefix, both in *Urth's* and *my* Glof-  
 sary. But he forgets that his author is not charged  
 simply with prefixing *a* to words of all sorts, but  
 with prefixing it, *without any regard to custom or  
 propriety*. No one ever doubted that words of all  
 sorts, beginning with *a*, are to be found in all  
 authors. The question is, whether this initial *a* is  
 usually added arbitrarily, without any authority from  
 custom, or any change in the signification of the word.

As the DEAN has done me the honour to refer  
 to my observation on this subject, I shall take the  
 liberty to repeat it here from the GLOSSARY to  
 C. T. vol. v. p. 2. "A in composition, in words  
 of

of Saxon original, is an abbreviation of *AF*, or *OF*; of *AT*; of *ON*, or *IN*; and often only a corruption of the prepositive particle *ON* or *V*. In words of French original, it is generally to be deduced from the Latin *AB*, *AD*, and sometimes *EX*." I cannot see how this observation can be applied to justify such an arbitrary use of the initial *a*, as appears in the words above quoted from the Poems. That they are all unauthorized by custom is confessed; and it is as plain, that the additional *a* has no operation whatever but that of lengthening them. The DEAN himself takes notice, that these words "are sometimes used by our Poet without the prefix, as *boune, comg, derue, dygne, lest, &c.*" and he might have added, *in exactly the same signification.*

I have now gone through, I think, all the words, from the use or interpretation of which I had endeavoured to prove, in the *latter part* of my APPENDIX, that the Poems were written by CHATHERTON. Upon the coolest and most impartial review of the attempts, which have been made by my learned antagonists to authenticate these words, I see no reason for doubting, that every one of them was copied by the *author* of the Poems from KERSEY, or some former Lexicographer not older than SPEIGHT. I might therefore, perhaps, safely rest the cause upon the instances produced; but as I think that the evidence

from



from LANGUAGE must have the most decisive weight in determining this question, I shall add here another list of words, with their interpretations; each of which I conceive to have been derived, in the whole or in part, from blunders of KERSEY.

ATTENES. *Æ. i. 140. 307. G. 109. Ch. 13. 42. At once.* CHATTERTON: And so KERSEY, after SPEGHT. But I very much suspect, that the word *Attenes* stands upon no better authority than a misprint in Chaucer, C. T. ver. 4072, where SPEGHT's edition has *attenen*, and, at the end of the preceding verse, *benes*; though the edition of 1542 reads rightly *banes* and *ataner*, agreeably to the best MS.

BESTADDE. p. 286. l. 3. CHATTERTON has not given any interpretation of this word. The DEAN of EXETER in his note, p. 448, says, that in the present passage it seems merely to imply *a fixed situation*. In his Glossary, however, he renders it, *situated, distressed*, upon the authority, as it should seem, of the *Promptorium parvulorum*. But neither of these senses suits the context. KERSEY, upon what ground I know not, has the following article; "*Bestad, (O.) lost;*" which, I am persuaded, CHATTERTON followed. In the Poem on *Happineffe*, he makes CANYNGE to ask, *Was it lost with Eden's bower?* &c. In another passage, *Æ. 410*, with his usual licence, he has put *Bestanne* for

for *Bestadde*; but, I think, in the same sense; "Who kens ne thee or is to thee bestanne." That is, I suppose, "Who knows thee not, or is left to thee." This meaning of *Bestanne* and *Bestadde*, it must be allowed, is unauthorised; but it makes sense of both passages, and therefore is likely to have been adopted by the writer.

BEVYLE. E. 1.1. 57.

Speers *bevyle* spores.

*Bevyle* is explained by CHATTERTON to mean "break; a herald term, signifying a spear broken in tilting." The idea of *breaking*, which is quite foreign from *bevyle*, might perhaps have been suggested by the following passage in KERSEY:

"*Bebile* (in Heraldry), *broken*, or open, like a bevel, or carpenter's rule."

BEWOPEN. H. 2. 665.

*Bewopen* Alfwoulde fellen on his knee.

CHATTERTON has not explained this word; but it is clearly used by him in the sense affixed to it by KERSEY. "*Bytopen*, (O.) made senseless." Accordingly I see that the DEAN of EXETER has interpreted it *stupefied*. But *bewopen*, I apprehend, can only signify one sort of *stupefaction*, arising from *excessive weeping*, which cannot be supposed to have been Alfwoulde's case. So it is applied by CHAUCER, in his *Troilus*, IV. 916. and rightly explained by Spoght: "*Bytopen* (it is printed by mistake

mistake *Byworen*), made senseless, *overweps*." It may be observed, by the way, that in this instance CHATTERTON probably followed KERSEY, and not SPEGHT.

CHERISAUNEI. ENC. 1.

Somme *cherisaunei* 'tys to gentle minde.

In my edition of these Poems, when I was but a novice in genuine *Archæological* language, I set this down among the evident mistakes of the transcriber, and corrected it very probably, as I thought, into *cherisaunee-it ys*. My excuse must be, that I had not then seen KERSEY, who, from a mistake, as it seems, of the printer, has this article. "*Cherisaunei, (O.) comfort.*" Mr. BRYANT, p. 562, allows, that this word was borrowed by CHATTERTON from KERSEY; though before, p. 106—7, he has taken a great deal of pains to point out the several steps by which CHATTERTON, whom he there considers as an ignorant transcriber from Mss. arrived at such a compilation of mistakes, as are to be found in this passage.

ELE. M. 74. *Help.* Chatterton. And KERSEY and SPEGHT have explained the same word in the same manner; but I cannot believe that such a word was ever used by a genuine author.



ENTYN: P. G. 10.

Entyn a kyng mote bee full pleased to nyghte.

CHATTERTON explains this word to mean *even*.

The DEAN of EXETER adds—*or in short*; upon what ground, I know not. I never had the least conception from whence this word could be derived, till I saw in KERSEY, "*Eutyn*, (O.) *even*." I have little doubt that CHATTERTON, in his hurry, either misread or miswrote *Entyn* for *Eutyn*. From whence KERSEY derived his word *EUTYN* is immaterial to our present enquiry; but I think it probable, that he only intended to copy SPENCER's article, "*Eugn*, *even*;" and that the *t* was inserted by some accidental jumble at the press.

FORGARD. Æ. 564.

Whate, doest *forgard* thic blodde? ys ytte for feare?

In this place CHATTERTON interprets this word to mean *lost*; in two other places, Æ. 434, and Sa. of C. 57, it is a participle, and consequently must be construed *lost*, agreeably to this article in KERSEY. "*Forgard*, (O.) *lost*." I know no other authority for this word in either of these senses; which may both be wrong, though it is scarce possible that both should be right.

FORSWAT. Ch. 30.

The *forswat* meadowes smethe, and drenche the raine.

CHATTERTON's interpretation of *forſwat* is *ſun-burnt*, to which the DEAN of EXETER has ſubjoined, by way of correction, *sweating*. It muſt be confeſſed, that the DEAN's interpretation is nearer the truth, but the image of a *sweating meadow* is ſo awkward and unnatural, that no Poet could poſſibly have made uſe of it. *Forſwonke* and *Forſwat* are epithets properly applied to a Plowman, in the Prologue to the *Plowman's Tale*, ver. 16, and SKINNER has explained them ſeparately; but KERSEY has joined them together in the following article: "*forſwonke, or forſwat, (O.) over-laboured and ſweated, or ſun-burnt.*" There can be little doubt, I think, that this article ſuggeſted the ſenſe of *ſun-burnt*, which CHATTERTON has affixed to *Forſwat*.

GRATCHE. *Æ.* 115. *M.* 68. *Apparel.* CHATTERTON. And ſo it is interpreted by KERSEY and SPEGHT. It is always uſed as a *noun* in the Poems; but in the paſſage to which SPEGHT probably refers (as there is no other, I believe, in which the word can be found), it is uſed as a *verb*. *R. R.* 7368.

And gan her *gratche* as a begine.  
But even its exiſtence as a verb may be doubted; for the author of *Gloſſ. Ur.* has obſerved very properly, that *Gratche* is perhaps the ſame with *Graithe*, if not miſtaken for it." To *graithe*, or *greithe*, is a verb uſed by CHAUCER in ſeveral

other places, signifying *to prepare* or *make ready*, a sense, which suits exactly with this passage of R. R.

HAILE, HAILIE. E. III. 60. Æ. 148. 409. M. 63. *Happy*. Chatterton.

I suspect these two adjectives to have been formed from the following article in KERSEY: "*Hailes, (O.) Happiness.*" But KERSEY appears to have been misled by SKINNER, who has explained the word *Hailes* in CHAUCER, C. T. ver. 12586, to mean either *in Sanctis sedibus*, or *in Beatitudine*; the last of which senses KERSEY has adopted. The mistake of SKINNER is equally evident, as he has quoted the line of CHAUCER, which he attempts to explain.

"And by the bloude of Christ that is in *Hailes*." For *Hailes* in that line signifies neither *holy seats* nor *happiness*, but is the proper name of the *Abbey of Hailes* in Gloucestershire. See note on C. T. ver. 12586.

LERE. Æ. 567. H. 2. 597. 676.

This word has not been explained by CHATTERTON, but the DEAN of EXETER in all these places very probably supposes it to mean *leather*. And so KERSEY has explained it. "*Lere, (O.) Leather.*" But here again I suspect that KERSEY has been misled by, or has misapprehended, SKINNER, who has the two following articles: "*Lere,*  
exp.



exp. *Complexion, Colour.*—*Lere, Pellis*, fort. contr. *a Leather*." These two articles appear to have been formed from this single one in SPECHT: "*Lere, complexion, colour, skin.*" But *skin* in SPECHT, which SKINNER has rendered *pellis*, and supposed to be contracted from *leather*, was undoubtedly intended to be the interpretation of *Lere* in the following passage of CHAUCER, C. T. ver. 13786:

He didde next his white *lere*.  
Where *lere*, if it signifies any thing more than *complexion* (which may be doubted), can only be supposed to signify the *skin of a living man*, and therefore affords no pretence for considering it as contracted from *leather*.

LISSE. T. 2. *Sport or play.* LISSETH. M. 15. *Boundeth.* LISSSED. T. 97. *Bounded.* Chatterton.

The reader will be pleased to observe, that, in the last passage, the participle *Lissed* is properly applied to *a field bounded by a list*; but, in the two former, the verb *Lisse* is applied to *horses*, and a *javelin*, in another sense of the word *bound*, of which *Lisse* is absolutely incapable. There can be little doubt, I think, that CHATTERTON was misled by the equivocal article in KERSEY; "*Lisse, (O.) bounded;*" to suppose, that *To lisse* might be used in all the senses of *To bound*.

The DEAN of EXETER seems so sensible of the inference which must be drawn from this unauthorised

therised use of *Liff*, that after some hopeless efforts to explain it in a different sense, he concludes with a conjecture: "that the word in both these passages should be read *Gliffeth*, signifying to glide, or pass quickly." But where are we to look for such a word as *Gliffeth*?

*Obaie*. E. T. and E. H. 26. *Obaie*. Chatterton. And in the same word is explained by KERLEY and SPEGHT. But the compiler of *Gloss. Univ.* has observed, that *Obaie*, in the single passage of CHAUCER, in which it occurs, C. B. ver. 1203, is a misprint; and should be *Obeye*, as it is printed in the last edition from the best Mss. The inference is plain enough, from whence the author of the Poems got his word *Obaie*, with its interpretation. The DEAN of EXETER, in his Glossary, has added to this word *P. Pa.* from which one should naturally suppose, that the use of it was authorised by the *Promptorium Parvulorum*; but upon looking into the only copy of that book, which I have an opportunity of consulting, Ms. Harl. 225, I can find nothing nearer to *Obaie* than the following article; "OBEYIN OR BE EUXUM. *Obedio*." If the DEAN has any thing more to the purpose in his copy of *P. Pa.* he will do well to publish it at length in the next edition of his Commentary.

*REGATE*. Le. 7. *Esteem*. M. 701. *Esteem*. *fa-*  
*vour*. Chatterton.

Chatterton

8 M

And

To **And for KERSEY.** "Regrate, (O.) Courtesy, Esteem." But this interpretation is founded upon a mistake of SKINNER in the following article; "Regrate, exp. Courtesy or Estimation." To what author SKINNER refers, I cannot find. I have observed, n. (6), that *exp.* generally denotes the exposition of the word in *Speght's Glossary*; but in this case SKINNER's exposition is different, and nearer the truth. "Regrate, lamentation, sorrowful fate." I conceive the noun *Regrate* to be capable of exactly the same senses with the more modern word *Regret*, none of which will suit with these passages in the Poems, or the interpretation of them by CHATTERTON.

**SEMLYKEENE.** *Æ.* 9. *Countenance.* *G.* 56. *Beauty, countenance.* Chatterton. See also *Æ.* 1145. *H.* 2, 368, where the same word occurs in the same sense. In other places it is written **SEMLY-REED.** *Æ.* 298. *St. of C.* 113. To this last passage the DEAN OF EXETER in his Glossary has added the interpretation *countenance*, and refers us to *P. Pa.* but I can find nothing in *P. Pa.* which in the least authorises such an interpretation. It seems plain to me, that both these words owe their original to the following article in KERSEY; "**Semeliheed, (O.) Semeliness, comeliness**"

**UNLIART.** *P. G.* 4. *Unforgiving.* Chatterton.

The DEAN OF EXETER has observed very properly, that *Unliart* is the opposite to *Liart*. The



question therefore is, what is the true meaning of *Liart*? The DEAN says, that it is not explained in my *Glossary*, which is very true; but he might have found *Liard* (which he considers as the same word) in my *Glossary*, with a reference to a note on vet. 7145, which if he had read, I flatter myself he would not have been so positive, that *Liard* is used by CHAUCER in the sense of gentle, pliant. A carter calls his horse, *Min'owen liard boy*; upon which I have remarked, that "*Liard* was a common appellative for a horse, from its gray colour, as *bajard* was from *bay*." [See before, ver. 4113.]

R. R. fol. 92. He lyght downe of *liarde*, and ladde him in his hande.

Br. Douglas, in his *Virgil*, usually puts *liart* for *albus*, *incanus*. In short, my notion was, and is, that *Liart* was an adjective signifying *gray*, and *Liard* an appellative for a *gray horse*. As neither of these senses could have given rise to the compound *Unliart*, I shall suppose that the author followed KERSEY, who, after SKINNER and SPEIGHT, has explained "*Liart*, (O.) Gentle, pliant;" the opposite to which might easily be termed *un-forgiving*.

WYCHENCREF. A. 419.

This word has not been explained by CHATTERTON; but it is clearly used for *Witchcraft*, as

as the DEAN OF EXETER has interpreted it. Till I see the use of it confirmed by some good authority, I shall believe that it was taken from the following article in KERSEY; "~~Witchcraft~~, (O.) Witchcraft."

YSPENDE. T. 179. *Consider*. Chatterton.

But how could *Yspende* ever signify *consider*? There can be little doubt, I think, that CHATTERTON formed this word from KERSEY'S "*Yspended*, (O.) considered;" and, as the same article occurs in SPEIGHT, I suspect it to have originated from some *misprint* in CHAUCER: it is quite impossible that *Yspende* should be a genuine word.

Having thus proved, that so many words, either not ancient or not used in their ancient sense, are to be found in the Poems, which can only be understood according to the unwarranted interpretations which CHATTERTON has annexed to them; and having pointed out the author, from whom ~~he~~ might easily have borrowed those words, with their interpretations, I am not aware of any thing which should prevent us from concluding that he wrote the Poems. It is inconceivable that any writer older than KERSEY should have anticipated so many of *his* blunders; and of writers since KERSEY we have not the slightest ground of evidence for suspecting any one except CHATTERTON. Mr. BRYANT has informed us, p. 561, that CHATTERTON "*used to hunt, in a most servile manner,*  
in

in Kersey's Dictionary." The fact, it seems, is proved by a strange bombast letter to his friend SMITH, consisting of many high-sounding and uncommon terms. "These (says Mr. BRYANT) are all to be found in KERSEY, and, I believe, in no other English Dictionary. *That he had them from this source is certain, from his copying the very errors of the author.*" But if this argument be conclusive in a letter of CHATTERTON's to Mr. SMITH, why should it have less force in the Poems, attributed to ROWLEY, to which I have just been applying it? One of the words which Mr. BRYANT has enumerated, as borrowed in this manner from KERSEY, is *Cberisaunei* for *Cberisaunce*, a word used in the Poems, [See before, p. 177.] He adds, indeed, that "this gives room to suspect, that he [Chatterton] sometimes altered the originals, which he had before him, upon the authority of these etymologists;" but, in my opinion, it gives much more room to suspect, that it was upon the authority of these etymologists that he composed his pretended originals.

I will add nothing more upon this head; as I confess that I have no stronger evidence than what I have already produced, to shew, that the Poems were written entirely by CHATTERTON; but I cannot conclude this disquisition, though already too long, without taking notice of some arguments, which have been particularly urged to prove, that



that he was not the author, but only the transcriber, of them.

The first, and perhaps the most extraordinary, is drawn from what is called his *uniform declaration* that the Poems were ROWLEY'S. Mr. BRYANT has insisted upon this very largely, p. 499, seq. but surely such a declaration, if it had been much more uniform than it was, and had been continued for a much greater length of time, would have been entitled to very little credit. He must have been a very whimsical or a very squeamish impostor indeed, who, after having planned and executed a successful fraud, should voluntarily abandon it, or refuse to support it by his own assertions. When CICCARELLI made a confession of his impostures, he had been legally convicted of one; and was going to suffer death for it; and it is remarkable, that PSALMANAZAR, many years after his fictions had been detected and universally exploded, could not bring himself to an open avowal of his guilt, except in a narrative to be published, when he should be insensible of the shame arising from it. But CHATTERTON, supposing him to have been an impostor, had none of these motives to confession. He had not even had time to be tired of this amusing exercise of his fancy, as he died within less than two years from his first overt-act of imposture: and he appears to have practised it to almost the end of his life;

life; for the *Balade on Charitie* was sent to the printer in the month immediately preceding his decease. Was it possible for him to recede from his declaration that the Poems were ROWLEY's, while he was every day forging new compositions under the same name? Not that I can admit his declaration to have been so *uniform* as Mr. BRYANT would represent it. In two instances, both of which indeed seem to have escaped Mr. BRYANT's notice, he acknowledged himself to have been the author of pieces which he had originally pretended to have transcribed from ancient Mss. The pieces, which I mean, are the *Account of the Ceremonies observed at the opening of the Old Bridge*, and the *Battle of Hasting*, N<sup>o</sup>. 1. I should be ashamed to urge this acknowledgement of his, as a proof that he was really the author of these pieces; but, as a proof that his declarations were not to be depended upon, I think it cannot be rejected or evaded by any one; and least of all by those, who, in direct contradiction to it, persist in maintaining that these very pieces were written by ROWLEY (46).

(46) In addition to the *publick declarations* of Chatterton, Mr. Bryant, p. 525, has laid great stress upon what he calls *private attestations* to the truth of those declarations. To this purpose he has cited certain *notes*, subjoined to Mss. of Chatterton, containing *references* to Rowley, Canynge, &c. and the *mention* of those personages in his fanciful will. See before, p. 155. n. (41), "We may be assured

(says

Another argument is drawn from what Mr. BRYANT [p. 564] calls CHATTERTON'S MISCONCEPTIONS, or mistakes in transcribing, which are supposed to have arisen from his not being able to read the MS. I had pointed out [Introd. Acc. p. xv] several variations between a copy of the "*Songe to Aella*," &c." which CHATTERTON had

(says Mr. Bryant) from these indirect and repeated appeals to Rowley, that he was esteemed by Chatterton a real person, the same from whose writings he copied." But all, I think, that can be safely inferred from these appeals is, that Chatterton was generally mindful of his assumed character, and lost no convenient opportunity of exhibiting it. In one passage, however, of the very will above mentioned, he seems, either from inadyvertence or design, to have dropped the mask. The passage is as follows: "*I leave Mr. Clayfield the sincerest thanks my gratitude can give, and I will and direct, that, whatever any person may think the pleasure of reading MY WORKS worth, they immediately pay their own valuation to him, since it is then become a lawful debt to me; and to him, as my executor in that case.*" Upon a former occasion, he is said to have carried a fictitious bill to Mr. Catcott, charging him as debtor in a certain sum, "*for pleasure received by reading Rowley's works in verse and prose;*" and if he had wished to maintain any longer the character of a mere transcriber, he would probably have worded this legacy to Mr. Clayfield in terms of a similar import. But here, unless we suppose the expression MY WORKS to include the works which he had published as Rowley's, he claims no debt as due to him on the latter account. If it should be asked, But why then did he not explicitly declare himself the author of the works attributed to Rowley? I can only answer, that, possibly, in the fit of sullen despair which had determined him to quit the world, he might equally disdain, either to confess, or to continue, his imposture.

given



given to Mr. BARRETT, and that which he afterwards produced as the original. These variations Mr. BRYANT has repeated, p. 566, to shew, that, “*from the letters being nearly effaced, CHATTERTON had often mistaken the original terms, and substituted one word for another.*” But the variations themselves do not, I think, justify any such inference. The substitution of *Israyninge* for *Yprauncynge*, of *valyante* for *burlie*, of *dyssmall* for *honore*, of *varses* for *pene*, &c. can never have been owing to the letters being nearly effaced; as in every instance the word substituted differs widely from the other in the form, or order, or number of its component letters. These variations, therefore, which are evidently various modes of expression, and not mistaken readings, are much more likely to have proceeded from an author than from a mere transcriber; and they probably took their rise from CHATTERTON’s giving out copies of his compositions, at different times, from memory only.

“The like *mistakes* (says Mr. BRYANT, p. 567) are often to be discovered from the context, in copies, of which there is no original preserved;” and he gives several instances from the *Errata*, which I had annexed to my edition; where CHATTERTON is supposed to have mistaken *virtuals* for *victims*,—*fears* for *tears*,—*toe* for *doe*,—*stroken* for *stroken*,—*fythe* for *fyke*,—*bie thanks* for *mie thanks*.

“Can

"Can these (says Mr. BRYANT) be the mistakes of an author? Certainly not." And I partly agree with him. They cannot be the mistakes of an author, in his capacity of author; but an author is also, generally, a transcriber of his own works, and in that capacity, I apprehend, he is as liable to the common errors of omitting, adding, changing, and transposing letters, as any other transcriber. The mistakes, here enumerated, are all of this sort, mere slips of the pen, such as might easily have fallen from an inattentive writer, in copying either his own works or those of another. They cannot therefore afford any proof, that CHATTERTON was not the author of those pieces in which they are found.

The characteristick of these mistakes is, as Mr. BRYANT has observed, "that the true reading appears from the plain purport of the lines." Where the word mistaken is uncommon or obscure, and the sense cannot be easily restored, there is more reason to suspect a blunder of the transcriber. Some mistakes of this latter sort Mr. BRYANT has endeavoured to point out, which therefore it may be proper to examine.

ONLYGHTE. *Æ.* 679.

Theyre thronginge corsets shall *onlyhte* the flaires.

"Here (says Mr. BRYANT, p. 178) is certainly a great mistake of the transcriber, who did not know the author's meaning, and has substituted one

one word for another. Instead of *onlyghte*, I make no doubt but that the original was *onlyche*; which signifies to be like or equal to. *Onlych* is the same term which we now express *liken*." But what proof have we from authority or analogy that such a *verb* as *onlych* was ever in use? If it was used in the sense of *liken*, how would it suit with this passage? Could we now say *to liken the stars* instead of *to match them in number*? Certainly not. We have therefore no reason for believing, that *onlyche* was the original word. As to *onlyghte*, though I take it to be as little authorised as *onlyche*, I can conceive that it may have been intended to mean *to un-light*; *to darken*, or *intercept the light of the stars*. The hyperbole, excessive as it is, might perhaps be matched in the Poems. At least the word must keep its place, till a more probable substitute than *onlyche* can be found for it.

I had set down among *the evident blunders of the transcriber* the following passage of H. 1. 300.

But manie knyghtes were *men in womens* geer—  
and had proposed to correct it thus;

But manie knyghtes were *women in mens* geer.

Mr. BRYANT, p. 86, has adopted this correction; and adds: "This may have been the blunder of a transcriber; but could never be the mistake of the real composer of these Poems." But to me

such



such a blunder as this seems equally unlikely to have been committed by either, except from a temporary distraction of thought, to which both are equally liable. In a similar passage, H. 1. 19.

Go, do the weaklie womman in manns geare,  
And scond your mansion, if grym war come there.

I see no reason for supposing with Mr. BRYANT, that "*in the original the lines run thus*;

Go to, ye weaklie women &c."—

Go, do the woman—may signify, I apprehend, Go, at the woman, &c. Nor can I agree with him in his interpretation of the second verse, where he supposes *scond your mansion* to mean *disgrace the house of your ancestors*. According to the little skill which I may have acquired in the Chattertonian dialect, I should conjecture *scond* to have been formed from *abscond*, and to signify here, *abscond*, or *run away, from your house, &c.*

E. 11. 39, 40.

The reynyng foemen, thynckeynge gif to dare,  
Boun the merk swerde, theie seche to fraie, theie  
blyn.

"Here (says Mr. BRYANT, p. 94) seems to have been a great blunder committed by the transcriber.

—And, I think, nothing can shew more satisfactorily, than this passage, that Chatterton had an original before him which he did not understand."

But all the perplexity, of which Mr. BRYANT complains in this passage, arises from his having

overlooked the comma which is after *fraie*. With this little addition, there is scarce a passage in the Poems which is more intelligible than this, or affords less ground for suspecting a blunder. Allowing the author to have expressed himself with his usual quaintness, his meaning I take to be this : "The foes running about, thinking whether they shall hazard a battle, make ready their swords; they one while *seek to engage*, at another *they cease*, stand still." Mr. BRYANT, in his quotation, has omitted the clause—"thynckynge gif to dare"—though it certainly gives light to what follows, "When he shall be pleased to reconsider the whole passage, I flatter myself that he will not think the received reading of the second line less worthy of the author than what he would substitute ;

"Boun the merk sword, and *seche the saie to blynn*. i. e. and endeavour to impede and stop the landing of the enemy." To which I have this further objection, that *blyn*, as far as I have observed, is never used by genuine writers but as a *verb neuter*. The use of it as a *verb active* in the Poems, *Æ.* 334. 552. *G.* 58. may be added to the many other instances of unauthorised language, which make their genuineness so justly suspected.

I pass over Mr. BRYANT's observations, p. 99, upon the first stanza of the *Storie of William Canynge*, as I profess not to understand the passage, either as it appears in the Poems, or as he has corrected it. There are many other passages in the Poems, which

which cannot be corrected into sense consistently with any rules of criticism.

With respect to *Almer*, in the *Balade of Charitie*, ver. 25 and 76, which Mr. BRYANT, p. 102, supposes to have been put by a mistake of the transcriber for *Palmer*, I shall only observe, that it is not usual for a transcriber to change a known and common word, such as *Palmer* is, for one quite unexampled. — The true origin of the word *Cherisfaunel* has been pointed out above, p. 177. — Why Mr. BRYANT supposes that *amenused* in B. 11. 5. has been substituted by the transcriber for *amanfed*, I cannot comprehend. The literal sense of *amanfed* is *excommunicated*. If it ever seems to signify *accursed*, it must probably mean *in consequence of excommunication*. But how could the infidel Saracens, of whom Mr. BRYANT supposes the Poet to speak, ever have been *excommunicated*? That term, I apprehend, can only be applied to those who have once been in the Christian communion. But indeed it seems to me, that we cannot suppose the Poet to speak here of the Saracens, without doing a great injury to the beauty and order of his description. He is not describing, in this place, the *Christian fleet approaching towards the Holy Land*, as Mr. BRYANT supposes, but the fleet of RICHARD just launched upon the ocean from England. The *amenused nations* therefore I conceive to be the *nations of Europe*, who are *ast-*



nished, and feel themselves *diminished* in estimation by the superior splendor of this armament. The description of its effect upon the *Saracens* does not begin till ver. 23.

The *Saracen* lokes owte, &c.

This word *amenused* has furnished Mr. BRYANT with another argument to prove a *mistake of the transcriber*, and such a mistake, as, I am ready to own, if it could be clearly fixed upon him, would induce a strong suspicion that he was *merely* a transcriber. It is contended [Bryant, p. 140], that *amenused*, in Le. 28, has been put by mistake for *amenusetb*; and *adented* [Ibid. p. 152], by a like mistake, for *adentetb* in G. 29; and that the mistake in both instances has arisen from the Ms. having had a mixture of Saxon characters, and the transcriber having taken the Saxon *th* (ð) for a common *d* (d). But, in the first place, here is no proof at all of any mistake in either of these words; for the passage in Le. 28 remains as hard to be understood after the proposed alteration, as it was before; and the passage in G. 29 was as easy to be understood without the proposed alteration as with it. In the second place, I apprehend that there is no ground for believing, that a transcriber from any Ms. of the XVth century could have been misled in the manner which Mr. BRYANT has supposed; for, though the Saxon *th*, expressed thus,

thus (p), was used in the common writing of that century, the other expression of it (ð), which only could be mistaken for a *d*, was at that time, I am persuaded, totally disused and obsolete.

But, beside these supposed MISCONCEPTIONS, or mistakes in transcribing, which Mr. BRYANT has alledged, to shew, that CHATTERTON copied from Mss. which he was not able to read, he has produced a number of what he calls MISINTERPRETATIONS of particular passages, which, according to him, prove, that this boy did not even understand the compositions which he copied, and consequently could not have been the author of them. In this argument he is joined by the DEAN of EXETER, who seems not to have been aware of the other argument, drawn from the mistakes of the transcriber, or even to have discovered that there were any mistakes of that sort, which should not be considered as mere slips of the pen.

It would be too tedious to go through all the instances of MISINTERPRETATION, with which CHATTERTON has been charged by these two learned men. Many of them have been already considered in the course of this disquisition. I will take notice here of a few more, which have been urged with the greatest confidence. If I can shew, that in these the interpretations of the *boy of Bristol* are as probable as those of his ablest

criticks, the reader will know what to think of the rest.

I shall begin with three words, which the DEAN of EXETER, conscious, as it seems, of their irresistible force, has placed together, according to the rules of oratory, in his Peroration, p. 515. The words are BERTEN, LORDYNGE, and HOUTON. The two first occur in the *Tournament*, ver. 57—8.

The lordyng toade ynn all hys passies bides;

The berten neders att hymm darte the flynge.

*Lordyng* is explained by CHATTERTON to mean *standing on their hind legs*. But this the two learned commentators pronounce to be a *mistake*, and they both agree, that *lordyng* is put for *lourdin*, or *lourdan*, and should be rendered *dull*, *heavy*, *unwieldy*. This is plausible, I confess, and, though by no means convincing, I might perhaps have been puzzled to give it a flat refutation, if a young friend of mine, who is fresher from this sort of reading than I am, had not informed me, that SPENSER has applied this very participle *lording* to a *toad*, and that his Glossarist has explained it in such a manner as might very well suggest CHATTERTON's interpretation. The passage of SPENSER is in his Pastoral of December, stanza xii.

Where I was wont to seek the honny bee

Working her formal rowms in wexen frame,

The



The griesly todestool grown there mought I see,  
And loathing *paddocks lording* on the same.

Upon which the Glossarist has observed: "*Lording*, spoken after the manner of Paddocks and Frogs sitting, which is indeed lordly, not moving or looking once aside, unless they are stirred." These authorities, I conceive, are fully sufficient to justify CHATTERTON against any charge of either having miswritten or misinterpreted this word. If any one shall be inclined to go further, and to consider so remarkable a coincidence of expression as a proof of plagiarism, I must warn him, that the DEAN of EXETER, upon occasion of another coincidence with SPENSER, which he himself has pointed out in B. H. N° 1. p. 64, has declared very peremptorily, that to suppose, that CHATTERTON had borrowed a thought from SPENSER, would be *an incredible idea*.

The next word *berten* is rendered by CHATTERTON *venomous*; and this too both the learned commentators pronounce a *mistake*; though they are by no means so well agreed, as in the former instance, what the interpretation should be. Mr. BRYANT, p. 285, supposes that *Berten* is an adjective, "probably a contraction of *Beretin*, and relates to colour;"—from the Barb. Lat. "*Berratinus*, cinereus, leucophæus. Du Cange." But he has produced no manner of proof that such a word was ever used in English, or even in French.

The DEAN of EXETER, on the other hand, supposes it to be (or to be put for) a participle of the present tense. He says, in his note, "The *berten neders* do not mean *venomous*, but *leaping*, to express their manner of attack. The *Promptuar. Parvul.* explains *burtyn* by *insilio*, *cornupeto*, to leap upon, or push, as *horned cattle* do." But how can *adders* be said to attack, like *horned cattle*? And yet, from an inspection of several articles in the *Prompt. Parv.* I cannot find that the old verb *To burt* had any other sense than the modern one *To butt*. BURTAR BESTE is explained *Cornupeta*.—BURTYNG, *Cornupetus*.—BURTON, AS HORNYD BESTIS, *Cornupeto*. So that I am quite at a loss to guess upon what grounds the DEAN has asserted, in p. 515 (in contradiction to his own quotation just cited), that the *Pr. Par.* had explained the word (*berten*) by *darting* or *leaping*. I need not say any more, I think, to shew that the explanations of this word by those two learned men are totally unfounded and inadmissible. To justify CHATTERTON's interpretation of it is no part of my undertaking. If he invented the word, as I much suspect, he had a right to affix his own sense to it.

With the third word, *bonten*, I shall have less trouble, as CHATTERTON's mistake about it (if he has made any) has escaped the correction of Mr. word was ever used in English, or even in French.

Mr. BRYANT. It occurs twice in the Poems; in the *Metamorphosis*, ver. 93.

The goddess \_\_\_\_\_

*Houton* dyd make the mountaine bie theire mighte.  
and in the *Epitaph on Robert Canynge*, ver. 6;

*Houton* are wordes for to telle hys doe.

In the former passage CHATTERTON has interpreted it to mean *hollow*. But the DEAN of EXETER says it means *lofty*; because "*hawten* is explained in the *Prompt, Parv.* by *exalto*, and is used in this sense by Peter Langtoft; and *bautain*, in old French, signifies *proud* or *lofty*." But why should we believe, that *houton* is the same word with *bautain*? and how will the sense of *bautain* suit with these passages? In the first it has a very questionable meaning, and the other it makes absolute nonsense. But the sense of *hollow* will suit with both. The mountain is made *hollow*, not, as the DEAN surmises, by way of *alleviation to the fate of Estrild and Sabrina*, but that the river may run forth from it; and words are said to be *hollow*, metaphorically, i. e. *unsubstantial*, *weak*. I cannot therefore allow that CHATTERTON has made any mistake in his interpretation of this word, especially as it is supported by the Dictionary-writers, PHILLIPS, KERSEY, BAILEY, &c. who all interpret *houton* to mean *hollow*. Whether there be any such word as *houton* is another question.



ion. As far as I am informed, it stands upon no better authority than the following article in SPEGHT's Glossary to CHAUCER; "*bouten, ballow*;" and that, if I am not much deceived, refers to the following passage of the *Plowman's Tale*, [ver. 2812. Ed. Ur.]

*Happen and bouten with heve and hale.*

The article in SPEGHT, which immediately precedes *Howten*, is "*Hoppen, leape*." But it is plain, that in this passage of the *Plowman's Tale* *bouten* is a verb signifying to *boot*, or *balloo*, expressed by SPEGHT *ballow*, from which the Dictionary-writers and CHATTERTON have formed an adjective *bouten*, signifying *hollow*. I do not see how ROWLEY could have fallen into such a mistake.

I will only add here one of those words, in the explanation of which CHATTERTON is supposed to have failed, because "the Glossaries, in which alone they existed, were not in his hands, nor was it within his ability to understand them if they had been before him" [Milles, p. 514]. In the *Metamorphosis*, v. 9.

Whose eyne dyd feerie sheene, like blue-hayred  
*deffs*

That dreerie hange upon Dover's emblaunched  
clefs.

The *blue-hayred deffs* (says the DEAN of EXETER in his note) "are explained by CHATTERTON as *meteors* or *vapours*; they rather mean  
*spectres*

*spectres* or *fairies*, which might be supposed to inhabit these cliffs. *Deffe netyll*, in the *P. Parv.* is explained *Archangelus*. *Deffe* THEREFORE may signify *spirit*." From this conclusion the DEAN proceeds to draw several ingenious corollaries, which may be read in his book. I shall only briefly examine the conclusion itself. *Deffe netyll* is explained *Archangelus*; THEREFORE *Deffe* may signify *spirit*. I shall not dispute the connexion of *Archangel*, *Angel*, *Spirit*, *Spectre*, and *Fairie*; though, according to the position of the words, one might perhaps more probably infer, that *Deffe* signified *arch*, and *netyll*, *angel*; but the truth is, that *Deffe netyll*, in the *Prompt. Parv.* means neither more nor less than *Deaf nettle* (a weed more commonly called *Dead nettle*), of which the technical name is *Archangel*. How unfortunate was poor CHATTERTON, that the Glossaries, in which alone such curious learning is to be found, were not in his hands, and that he was not even able to understand them, if they had been before him! For lack of erudition, he was frequently obliged to have recourse to his own invention, of which, in the present instance, he has certainly availed himself as successfully as the DEAN has of his *Prompt. Parv.* for though I believe *meteors* or *vapours* to be not a less fanciful interpretation of *deff* than *spectres* or *fairies*, its total want of foundation cannot so easily be demonstrated.

I come

I come now to the last argument of any weight, which has been urged to prove, that CHATTERTON was not author of the Poems, viz. that they contain many things, with which he could not possibly have been acquainted. The instances alledged are, chiefly, of *words* too rare and obscure to have been understood by him, and of *historical facts*, which lay out of the reach of his scanty means of information.

Of the first sort is FALDSTOLE, Æ. 61, which the DEAN of EXETER in his note explains very learnedly, and adds: "A *modern* writer, not aware of the difference, would probably have called it a *footstool*." But FALDSTOOL is explained by KERSEY to be a *kind of stool*; which was sufficient authority for CHATTERTON to use it in the sense of *foot-stool*.

Another instance of those *uncommon* terms, which have persuaded Mr. BRYANT, p. 351, "that CHATTERTON had manuscripts before him," is FORTUNIES. [See Chattert. Miscell. p. 131.] But this word too is in KERSEY; "*Fortuny*, a Tournament, or running a Tilt on Horseback with Lances."

FRUCTUOUS ENTENDEMENT [B. H. No 1. 6] is another expression, upon which Mr. BRYANT has remarked, p. 414, that "he scarcely knows one, which at first sight is more likely to be suspected. Yet there is authority in a Ms. Poem of OCCLEVE;



to which we may well suppose that CHATTERTON *had never access.*" That he had never access to the Ms. Poem of *Occleve* I can readily admit; but the stanzas of that Poem, containing a compliment to CHAUCER, in which this expression of *fructuous entendement* occurs, have been frequently printed. They are printed (to name no other book) in the *life of Chaucer* prefixed to SPEIGHT's edition, to which CHATTERTON is allowed by Mr. BRYANT himself, p. 534, to have had *access.*

GOULE, says the DEAN of EXETER, p. 449, "according to the *Pr. Parv.* means *Usury.* Skinner, who quotes the word from the antient English Dictionary, as derived from *gula*, doubts both the existence and etymology of the term. Where then could CHATTERTON meet with it, but in a Latin Glossarist, whom he did not understand, and who did not believe the word to be ancient?" He met with it in KERSEY, who has the following article, "Goule, (O.) Usury."

In the Tragedy of *Godwin*, as the DEAN of EXETER has observed in his note on ver. 136, "MANCAS and MARKS are used synonymously for *money* in general." He has explained how the terms came to be confounded by the historians of the middle age; and "Rowley (he says) has followed the historians in this mistake; but *no author*, since his time, has used the word MANCA for *money*, and where should Chatterton have found it?"

He

He might have found it in KERSEY, who explains *Manna* to be "a square piece of gold, anciently valued at thirty pence." The same author explains *Mart* to be "a silver coin, anciently valued at thirty pence;" upon what ground I shall not enquire.

Under this head may also be classed the QUOTATIONS from Greek and Roman writers; which have been supposed to prove a greater portion of learning in the author, than CHATTERTON could have possessed. This argument is thus urged by Mr. BRYANT, p. 563. "In the sermon upon the *Holy Sprite* there is a quotation from Cyprian; and another from the *Greek* of Gregory Nazianzen; and in the story of John Lamington are many Latin quotations. None of these were obvious, and such as a boy could attain to. Nor are they idly and ostentatiously introduced: they are all pertinent, and well adapted." The quotations from CYPRIAN and GREGORY NAZIANZEN may be seen in the *Fragment* of a sermon, which CHATTERTON pretended to have copied from ROWLEY's *Mss.* It is printed in *Miscell. Chattert.* p. 114. Mr. BRYANT says, p. 564, "the very texture of it shews, that it was the composition of a person versed in divinity. Hence some have thought, that Chatterton accidentally lit upon an old sermon, and put it off for Rowley's." I am much inclined to think myself, that the ground-work of  
 7 this

The first of these is the fact that the text is written in a very old hand, and is therefore of great value. The second is the fact that the text is written in a very old hand, and is therefore of great value. The third is the fact that the text is written in a very old hand, and is therefore of great value.





this *Fragment* was an old sermon, in which CHATTERTON found the two quotations ready to his hand. The rest, if not his own invention, was at least translated by him into the *Rowleyan dialect*; as the language abounds with the same solecisms and barbarisms, which have demonstrated the spuriousness of the Poems. But, without having recourse to them upon this occasion, it happens, that the Greek quotation from GREGORY NAZIANZEN contains in itself the most unquestionable proof, that it was not copied from any M<sup>s</sup>. of the XVth century. It will be allowed, I presume, that CHATTERTON could only copy the characters which he found in his original. He had not skill enough to vary the forms of the letters; to combine those which were separate, or to separate those which were connected together. We may be certain, therefore, that his transcript (involuntary errors excepted) was in all respects as like to his archetype as he could make it. But his transcript differs totally from all the specimens which I have ever seen of Greek writing in the XVth century. It appears to me to have been evidently copied from a *printed book*; but, as I do not wish to judge for others in these matters, I shall annex an exact *Fac simile* of the passage, as it stands in CHATTERTON's own hand-writing. The reader will determine, whether it could have been copied by him from any M<sup>s</sup>. of ROWLEY.

Mr.

Mr. BRYANT's next argument is drawn from  
 "the many Latin quotations in the Story of John  
 Lamington." These, I apprehend, are all to be  
 found in what the DEAN of EXETER has printed,  
 p. 185, under the title of *a Dialogue between Mas-  
 ter Philpot and Wakworth Cockneies*, subjoined to  
 ISCAMME'S Poem on Lamington. This dialogue  
 therefore it may be proper to reprint here, with  
 a few corrections from CHATTERTON'S Ms.

*Phil.* God ye goodden, my good naighbour, how  
 d'ye ayle?

Howe does your wyfe, man? What never affole?

*W.* *Cum reſate vivas verborum mala ne cures.*

Ah maſtre Phillepot, evil tongues do ſaie,

That my wyfe will lyen down to daie,

Tis ne twaine moneths ſyth ſhee was myne  
 for aie.

*Phil.* *Animum ſubmittere noli Rebus in adverſis.*

*Nolito quædam referenti ſemper credere.*

But I pity you, nayghbour, if it [be] ſo.

*W.* *Quæ requirit myſericordiam Mala cauſa eſt—*

Alack! alack! a ſad dome mine in fay.

But oft with Citizens it is the caſe.

*Honeſta turpitude—pro bona*

*Cauſa mori*, as auncient Penſmen ſayſe.

"None of theſe quotations (ſays Mr. BRYANT)  
 were obvious, and ſuch as a boy could attain to."

And I can eaſily believe that they were not obvious



to Mr. BRYANT, whose studies, we know, have generally travelled a higher road; but I can say, with truth, that I found them in the very first book in which I looked for them. The three former are transposed out of *Cato's Distichs*, and the two others out of the *Sentences of Publius Syrus*, usually subjoined to the *Distichs*, in a little volume, which, in many small schools, I believe, is still the first that is put into the hands of learners of Latin after the Grammar (47). It appears from the

(47) They stand thus in an edition by *Beaumont*, L. Bat. 1635.

CATO, Lib. III. Dist. 4.

Quum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum.

Lib. II. Dist. 26.

Rebus in adversis animum submittere noli.

Lib. II. Dist. 21.

Noli tu quædam referenti credere semper.

SYRUS, *Sentent. Iamb.* p. 119.

Mala causa est quæ requirit misericordiam.

*Sentent. Troch.* v. 3.

Est honesta turpitudine pro bona causa mori.

In Chatterton's transcript of this last line he had originally inserted *est* after *turpitudine*; and he had written *bonay*, (to rime, I suppose, more exactly to say).

The blunders in the first line of *rectate* for *recte*, and of *verborum mala* for *verba malorum*, seem to shew that he wrote from memory. They must have been overlooked, I presume, by the Dean of Exeter, who considers all these passages, not as quotations, but as original compositions; and argues, in part, "from the correctness of the Latin, that they must have been written at least by a better scholar than Chatterton."

P

testimony

testimony of Mr. SMITH [Bryant, p. 532], that CHATTERTON *had intimated very frequently both a desire to learn, and a design to teach himself, Latin*; and though I do not suppose that he ever made any great progress in that language, I really think that he might have attained to these quotations. With respect to their *pertinency*, and their not being *idly and ostentatiously introduced*, it is scarce credible, I think, that such a medley of quotations, from such a book, should have been huddled together, in such a dialogue, by any one, but a boy, who was proud of displaying the little Latin which he had just acquired.

So much for the *words*, which CHATTERTON is supposed to have been incapable of understanding. I proceed, in the last place, to consider the *Historical facts*, with which, it is said, he could not possibly have been acquainted. Some of these supposed *facts* I have shewn above [p. 150. n. 39], to be probably nothing more than empty *words*; such as the *Blue Briton*, *Tinyan*, &c. Others are of a mixed nature; a combination of truths with falsities; of which the true part was easily known, and the false might as easily have been invented by CHATTERTON as by any other person. Of this sort are the ORDINATION of CANYNGE—to avoid a marriage proposed by King Edward, and the FINE of 3000 marks exacted from him—for refusing to comply with that proposal. The ORDINATION and the

the FINE, which are the true parts of these two stories, might have been known by any one from CANYNGE'S EPITAPH in Redcliff Church [see before, p. 113. n. 23]; the motive to the one, and the cause of the other, have been shewn to be mere fictions, totally void of truth, or even probability [see before, p. 107, and p. 114. n. 24]; and yet Mr. BRYANT, in his RECAPITULATION, p. 580—1, alledges both these stories, as having been *verified in all their circumstances*, and as *proving that the intelligence of them came from Redcliff Tower*.

I shall therefore confine myself to the consideration of the few facts REALLY HISTORICAL, which are supposed to have lain out of CHATTERTON'S reach; only premising, that I can never allow a fact to have lain out of his reach, merely because I myself, or even my learned opponents, may not be able to point out exactly the place where he found it. We have seen already, in several instances, that his reach was much more comprehensive than they imagined, or at least have been willing to acknowledge; and it is certainly within the bounds of probability, that one, who *guessed* so often as he did, should not always *guess* wrong.

Next to the two stories just mentioned, Mr. BRYANT alledges *the burning of Redcliff Spire*.

“Rowley (says he, p. 581) must have been in



some degree an eye-witness of the event: but Chatterton had *no history* of it; *no record*, excepting what must have come from Rowley. He could not have mentioned it without some previous intimation from that quarter; for *no account was elsewhere to be had*. This, like the two articles above, has since his death been attested, and by the same hand: by the testimony of William of Worcestre." Mr. BRYANT had before employed several pages (537—542), and much ingenious argumentation, to make it probable that this *burning of the spire* happened in the time of ROWLEY, before 1478; but the DEAN of EXETER, who, in this instance, cannot be charged with having acted in concert with his learned ally, has told us plainly and shortly, p. 419, that the spire was thrown down by lightning in 1445, soon after it was erected; and for this fact he quotes the *Mf. Chronicles of Bristol*, which, though *no record*, may fairly be called a *history*. If it should still be contended, that this fact might be shut up close in the *Mf. Chronicles*, and out of the reach of CHATTERTON, I will add, that I have been informed, from unquestionable authority, that "in 1746 was published at Bristol a print of St. Mary Redcliff's Church, with an account of its foundation, &c. by one John Halfpenny: in which was recounted the ruin of the Steeple in 1446, by a tempest and fire." Indeed it is scarce possible that such an

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event

event as this should not always have been generally known *by tradition* to hundreds of people at Bristol, though it may have remained a secret to very inquisitive antiquaries in London.

Another instance urged by Mr. BRYANT, p. 582, is a romantic story, produced by CHATTERTON in the *Rowleian dialect*, concerning the *Temple-church* at Bristol, which, he says, was so badly constructed by the first builder (*Gremordie*, a Lombard), that it subsided; but a better architect (*John a' Brixter*, a Bristowe man) preserved it, by laying a stronger basis, founded on piles. "If this account, says Mr. BRYANT, were a forgery by Chatterton, it could never have been by any means authenticated; but we find that it was *verified* in the year 1774, about four years after his death." Mr. BRYANT has told the story more at large in another place, p. 310; but the utmost that can be said to have been *verified* is, that the church stood upon piles; and even that verity is but imperfectly made out, as it is allowed that the piles were not seen by any body. But Mr. BRYANT has taken no notice of a remarkable circumstance in the *Temple-church*, which, I am persuaded, gave rise to this whole story. It is thus described by CAMDEN [Brit. p. 95]: "Hard by it is also another church, called *Temple*, the tower whereof, as often as the bell rings, moves to and again, so as to be quite parted from the rest of the building;

and there is such a chink from top to bottom that the gaping is three fingers wide when the bell rings, growing first narrower, and then again broader." This parting of the tower from the rest of the building must always, I apprehend, have been imputed to a defect in the foundation, which is stated to have been upon wet marshy ground; and it surely was not above the reach of CHATTERTON to imagine, that such a defect might afterwards have been remedied, and the building preserved from sinking further by piles. Mr. BRYANT himself says, that "in such a situation no other support, but piles, can be well conceived." This therefore is a fact, of which CHATTERTON needed not the ghost of ROWLEY to inform him. With respect to the main story, no attempt has been made to authenticate the contest between the two rival architects, *Gremordie* and *John a' Brixter*. Mr. BRYANT, for some reason or other, has not even mentioned their *names*; though, whether the story told of them be true or false, their names, one should think, deserve as well to be recorded as those of any of the other Rowleian heroes.

And this reminds me of an argument drawn from the *names*, both NORMAN and SAXON, in the *Battle of Hastings*, which, if it had come from a less authority than Mr. BRYANT's, I believe I should have passed over in silence. Even my respect for him shall not induce me to waste a word  
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upon the *Norman names*. "Of the *Saxons* (he says very truly, p. 372) no lists have been transmitted." The brothers of Harold excepted, "of the other persons mentioned on the same side, there is hardly a trace left in the accounts of those times: so that to many they may have appeared as imaginary characters, the work of poetical fancy." In another place, p. 579, Mr. BRYANT, in his Recapitulation, asks, rather triumphantly, "How could he (Chatterton) possibly know *the names of the Saxon Earls*, which occur in the *Battle of Hastings*, and which are not to be found in any historian. They are indeed authenticated by *Doomsday-book*. But did he ever hear of that book? or, if he did, had he ever access to it?" Here therefore seems to be a fair issue, whether *the names of the Saxon Earls*, in the *Battle of Hastings*, not to be found in any historian, are authenticated by *Doomsday-book*. The question is very properly restricted to *Earls*; for the names of inferior persons, in the most genuine poem, could not be expected to be authenticated by a record of that nature.

The whole number of Saxon combatants mentioned in the *Battle of Hastings*, exclusive of the royal family, is, I think, twenty-seven. Of eleven of these Mr. BRYANT has found the *names* (or something like them) in *Doomsday-book*; but of these eleven not one has any pretence to the title

of *Earl*, except BRIHTRIC. How CHATTERTON might easily have become acquainted with him, has been explained above, p. 149. n. 38. HERWARD indeed is called *Earl* in H. 1. 301; but his title is not authenticated by *Doomsday-book*, or by any other evidence. It happens rather unluckily for the credit of our poetical historian, that in this HERWARD, a REALLY HISTORICAL character, we find a perpetual contradiction to history. He is represented as born at Sarum, though he was in all probability a native of Croyland; he is repeatedly called an *Earl*, though he certainly never was one; he is introduced at the Battle of Hastings, though he was undoubtedly at that time not in England: and he is said to have been killed there, H. 1. 409. though he is known to have survived that battle many years.

But to return to *the names of our Saxon Earls*. Besides HERWARD, we have Erle ADHELM, H. 2. 505. Erle CUTHBERT, H. 1. 262. Erle EGWARD, H. 1. 545. Erle ETHELBERT, H. 1. 541. Erle ETHELWARD, H. 1. 216. Erle ETHELWOLF, H. 1. 213. The names of these *six Earls*, it is allowed, are not to be found in any historian; but how many of them has M<sup>r</sup>. BRYANT authenticated from *Doomsday-book*? Not one. The reader will judge, with what propriety *the names of the Saxon Earls*, in the *Battle of Hastings*, not to be found

in any historian, can be said to be AUTHENTICATED by *Doomsday-book*.

These, I think, are the facts REALLY HISTORICAL, upon which Mr. BRYANT has insisted in his Recapitulation, as having lain out of CHATTERTON'S reach. I have been so long in examining them, that the DEAN of EXETER must excuse me, if, in this stage—*extremo sub fine laborum*,—I pass more lightly over some objections of the same kind, which are peculiar to him.—The *incredibility*, that CHATTERTON should have been acquainted with SPENSER, has been touched upon above, p. 199.—He thinks that there is not *the least degree of probability*, that CHATTERTON should have known the *names* of WALWORTH and PHILPOT [Milles, p. 187], though they figure, as he partly allows himself, in all the common histories of England.—In another place, p. 370, he says, “It is by no means probable that Chatterton could have known the reputation of the manufacture of *Lincoln cloth* ;” though he has quoted himself two passages from *old ballads* about ROBIN HOOD, in which mantles and gowns of *Lincoln-green* are mentioned.—In his Introduction to the *English Metamorphosis*, p. 354, he insists, “that the history was beyond the compass of Chatterton's erudition : he could not have understood the original, Geffrey of Monmouth ; and even the English translation, by Aaron Thompson, is not commonly to  
be



be met with." But the DEAN allows himself, that this history, or rather fable, is to be met with in the tragedy of *Locrine*, contained in some editions of SHAKESPEARE. It is also recited very much at large in the *Collection of Old Ballads* [London, 1726], vol. II. p. 1—5, a book which CHATTERTON had certainly seen; and in *Stowe's Chronicle*, whom I take to have been his principal historian.

But the DEAN's most formidable argument is drawn from the Poem of the *Tournament*; "the ceremonial of which (he says, p. 305) is so well adapted to the customs of that age, that it could not have been so accurately described by any subsequent writer, who was not perfectly instructed in the ancient formulary: Chatterton therefore could not have been the author." That CHATTERTON was not perfectly instructed in the ancient formulary of Tournaments, I can readily allow; but how has the DEAN established the other part of his premisses, "that the ceremonial in the Poem is well adapted to the customs of *that* age?" Whether he means the age of BOURTON, or that of the supposed ROWLEY, it seems to me, that the first and leading idea of the whole Poem, the introduction of *an alderman of Bristol tilting with knights*, must have been not only ridiculous but offensive in any age, while the true ceremonial of tilts and tournaments was observed. But, waiving for the present that fundamental objection, I go  
on

on to remark shortly, that the HERALD, throughout the whole Poem, takes much more upon him than his office, which was merely ministerial, could warrant.—The form of *challenge* between BOURTON and NEVILLE; [ver. 87]

“I clayme the passage.” “I contake this waie;” is quite unapplicable to a *tilting-match*, in which the two combatants ran in parallel lines, with a low partition of wood or cloth between them, and their object was, not to stop the passage of each other, but, in passing, to break their respective lances with a good grace.—The sequel of this, when BOURTON replies, ver. 88,

“Then there’s mie *gauntlette* on mie *gaberdine*,” is equally incongruous. The DEAN indeed has observed, that “*the throwing down the gauntlet was the usual form of challenge*,” and so it was to a *duel*; but where can he shew an instance of its having been practised at a *tilting-match*?—The arrangement proposed by DE BERGHAM, ver. 105. seq. and the orders of the HERALD, ver. 121, seq. are, I am persuaded, quite fanciful, and unsupported by any ancient custom; though the DEAN has been pleased to assert, “that the latter are so much in character, that they could not have been dictated by any person who was ignorant of the ceremonial, or a stranger to the rules of Tournament.” I wish he had told us where we may find that ceremonial and those rules.—I will

will only take notice of one more *impropriety*, which is, that BOURTON, the conqueror in the tilts, is declared KING; *Kynge of Tourney-tilte*, ver. 155. That title, in some countries, was given to the *Presidents*, or *Judges*, of the Tournament, but never, as far as I am informed, to the victorious combatant.—When these things have been duly considered, the reader will determine, whether the poem of the *Tournament* is constructed according to a formulary of really ancient usages, which lay out of the reach of CHATTERTON, or whether it displays that mixture of ignorance and invention which marks him, in a peculiar manner, for the author.

I will now conclude with a single observation upon a matter, which, I think, has not yet been properly attended to, or indeed fully stated. Among the poems, which CHATTERTON pretended to have transcribed from his Mss. beside those attributed to ROWLEY, there are others under the names of CANYNGE, Sir THYBBOT GORGES, JOHN ISEAMME, and JOHNE, second abbot of St. Augustine's, who is said to have died in MCCXV. (48)

(48) The Poems under the names of *Canyng* and Sir *Thybbot Gorges* are printed in my edition. "The pleasaunt discourses (as they are called by the supposed Rowley) of Maystre *John a Iseam*, hight the merrie tricks of *Laming-ton*," have been lately printed in the Dean of Exeter's edition, p. 183. I shall insert here the Poem attributed to Abbot *John*, as it stands in my transcript of the Abbot's Life, from what is called Rowley's "*List of Skilled Painters* and



In all these we see not only a similitude, but an absolute identity, of manner, language, versification

and Carvellers." As this Life contains evidence of Rowley's proficiency in the Greek language, of which his learned advocates have not availed themselves, I think it but fair to publish the whole.

"John, seconde abbotte of Seynte Augustynns, was a manne well skylde ynn the languages of yore; hee wrote ynn the Greke tonge a poem onne Robert Fitz Hardynge, whyche as nie as Englyshe wylle serve I have thus translatedd:

Wythe daitve steppe relygyonn dyghte yn greie,  
Herr face of doleful hue,  
Swyfte as a takel throwe bryghte heav'nn toke lierr wale,  
And oft and ere anon dydd saie,  
Ah mee, whatte shalle I doe!

See Brystowe cittie, whyche I nowe doe kenne  
Aryseing to mie viewe,  
Thycke throngde wythe foldyerrs and traffyque menne;  
Botte seynctes I seen fewe.

Fitz Hardynge rose; he rose, lycke bryghte sonne ynn  
the morne;

Fayre Dame, adrie thyne eyne,  
Lette all thys greefe bee myne,  
Forre I wylle reere thee uppe a mynsterr hie,  
(And wylle a moncke bee shorne)

The toppe whereoff shall reachenn to the skie.  
Thanne dydd the Dame replie;  
I shall ne bee forlorne.

Heere wylle I take a cheryfauniedd reste,  
And spende mie daies upponne Fitz Hardynge's breste.

Norr was hee lackeynge ynne descryptionnes of battles  
and dreare accountes, as yee maie see underre big hymselfe  
onne Kyng Rycharde.

Harte of Lyonne! shake thie swerde,  
Bare thie morthie sternande honde,  
Quace whol armies toe the Queede,  
Worke thie wylle ynn Burlie Bronde.

Barrens

tion, &c. so that no one can doubt that they all came from the same author. But, though perhaps plausible reasons may be assigned why the supposed ROWLEY might have given out a few slight copies of verses under the names of his patron CANYNGE and his friend GORGES, it is scarce credible that he should have inserted in his "*Discorse on Bristowe*" a long poem of his own, as composed by JOHN ISCAMME; and still less, that he should have forged a poem under the name of abbot JOHN, who had been dead above two hundred years. These Poems therefore cannot have been written by the supposed ROWLEY. But they, as well as the Poems attributed to ROWLEY, un-

Barrens heere onne Bankerrs browded  
Fyghte ynne furries 'genste the Cale,  
Whylest thou ynne thonderynge mayle  
Warrikethe whole cyttyes bale.

Harte of Lyonne! founde the beme,  
Sounde ytt yntoe inner Londes,  
Feere flyes sporteynge ynn the cleembe,  
Ynne thie bannerr terroure stondes.

Thus moche forr abbott Johannes poemies. Hee was ynnductedd 20 yeres, and dydd acte as abbotte 9 yeres before hys ynnductyonne forr Phylippe then abbotte. Hee dyedde ynne M.CC.XV. beeynge buryedde ynne hys albe ynn the mynsterre."

If any one can perceive any difference of hand between this poem, attributed to abbot *John*, and those which pass under the name of the supposed Rowley, he must possess much greater powers of discrimination, than fall to the share of common criticks.

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doubtedly came from one and the same author;  
and I cannot see the least ground for imagining,  
that they could all have come from any one au-  
thor except CHATTERTON.

T H E E N D.





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